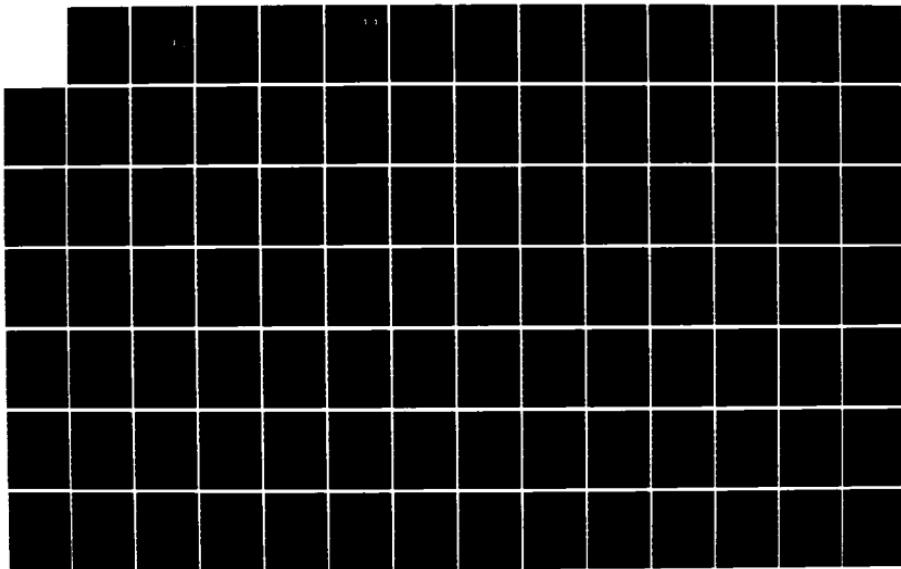


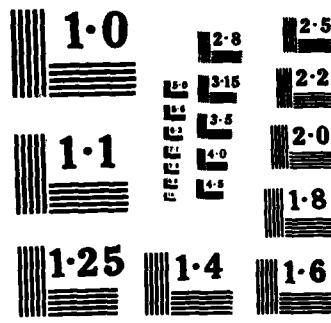
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A Comparative Study of the Attitudes of Selected Students at the University of
Oklahoma Toward Press Freedom in Reporting Military News During Wartime

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AD-A162 958

Final Report/6 December 1985

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A thesis submitted to the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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existence or absence of ROTC contract, grade level, attitudes toward military and press members, and knowledge about media law and foreign affairs news.

Nine hypotheses were posited in all. Each projected the direction in which attitudes would differ and were analyzed using the one-tailed t-test for significance. The dependent variable was a summated-rating scale comprised of 30 Likert-scale items developed by the author.

Findings revealed significant differences in attitudes in the areas of three independent variables. Among survey groups, ROTC students exhibited the least favorable attitude toward press freedom concerning military news, and Journalism students were the most favorable.

Politically conservative students, regardless of group, had less favorable attitudes than their liberal counterparts. Finally, students who rated military members more favorably than those of the press were less supportive of press freedom than those favoring press members over the military.

Although the study was predominantly quantitative in nature, it provided an historical overview of the war correspondent and a look at recent public opinion findings over the press exclusion from Grenada to set the stage for the study.

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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA TOWARD PRESS
FREEDOM IN REPORTING MILITARY
NEWS DURING WARTIME

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

By
WILLIAM EDWARD BENNER, JR.
Norman, Oklahoma
1985

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the attitudes of selected college students, at a major university, concerning the issue of press freedom in reporting military news during wartime. The survey sample consisted of 200 students randomly selected from each of the following three groups: (1) ROTC, (2) Journalism, and (3) students other than those in the previous two groups. A mail questionnaire was used to gather data.

Numerous independent variables were analyzed in an effort to determine what the attitudes were within and among these groups of students and, just as importantly, why these attitudes were held. Independent variables included: the sample groups themselves, political ideology, year in the ROTC program, the existence or absence of an ROTC contract, grade level, attitudes toward military and press members, and knowledge about media law issues and foreign affairs news.

A total of nine hypotheses were posited based on these variables. Each hypothesis projected the direction in which attitudes would differ and were subsequently analyzed using the one-tailed t-test for significance. The dependent variable was a summated-rating scale comprised of 30 Likert-scale items developed by the author.

The findings revealed significant differences in attitudes within the areas of three independent variables. Among survey groups, ROTC students exhibited the least

favorable attitude toward press freedom in the area of military news, and Journalism students were the most favorable.

Politically conservative students, regardless of group, had less favorable attitudes than their liberal counterparts. Finally, students who rated military members more favorably than those of the press were less supportive of press freedom in the subject area than those favoring press members over the military.

Although the study was predominantly quantitative in nature, it provided an historical overview of the war correspondent and a look at recent public opinion findings over the press exclusion from Grenada to set the stage for the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution is perhaps the cornerstone of American democracy. It states in full:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

The "freedom of the press" clause is guarded with particular care to ensure the American people remain the most informed citizens in the world.

However, press freedom is not absolute. One situation that may require limitations to the freedoms of speech and press is the reporting of certain kinds of military

information during wartime.¹ The types and degree of limitation have long been a source of contention between press and military members. Throughout our history, to include the recent Grenada rescue mission, there has been disagreement between military and media officials as to how much freedom the press should be permitted in covering military operations, and what news it should be able to report to the public. A brief review of the history of the American war correspondent will serve as an illustration.

War correspondents emerged during the Civil War. The writers and artists who covered the war had extraordinary freedom. Many passed between lines at will. However, correspondents often accepted the military version of the situation, thus tainting the objectivity of their accounts. They perhaps had an incentive to report the war the way the military wished, as a journalist could be expelled or imprisoned at the whim of a commanding general. Still, reporters were held in contempt by many top military and government officials. For example, Secretary of War Stanton once wrote to General Grant: "You can count on no secrecy in the Navy. Newspaper reporters have the run of that

¹See, for instance, Schenck v. U.S., 249 U.S. 47 (1919) and Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697 (1931). The U.S. Supreme Court has held that the freedoms of speech and press may be limited in "exceptional cases." Included in the exceptions is the publishing of sensitive military information during wartime, such as the number and location of troops and the sailing dates of transports.

department."² Generals on both sides were also concerned because the press frequently published information which could be used to the enemy's advantage.

Military-press relations improved somewhat during the Indian Wars that occurred after the fall of the South. Again, news reports were frequently the Army version of what was occurring. During the Spanish-American War, however, the relationship again deteriorated. Yellow journalism could be blamed for some of the problems. One of the more colorful episodes evolved when an American general refused a correspondent "a place of prominence in the flag-raising ceremonies following the surrender of Santiago at the end of the Spanish-American War." The correspondent was reported to have "slapped the general's face before the assembled dignitaries."³

When the American forces entered World War I, censorship had already been established by Great Britain and France, who had instituted it to enhance military security. American correspondents had relatively little restriction on movement, but they were fed very little news that was not favorable to the Allied cause. These reporters were especially angered because they believed the Germans and Russians had more

²Frank A. Flower, Edward McMasters Stanton. The Autocrat of the Rebellion, Emancipation and Reconstruction, cited by Joseph J. Mathews, Reporting the Wars (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 85.

³New York Herald, 19 July 1898, cited by Mathews, Reporting the Wars, pp. 150-151.

liberal news policies. Frederick Palmer, a news correspondent who also served for a time as chief censor with the American Expeditionary Force, later referred to his role as a "'double life' in which he served as a 'public liar to keep up the spirit of the armies and the peoples of our side.'"⁴

Although there was by no means complete freedom for the press on the battlefield during World War II, the relationship between the military and the media was more harmonious than in prior years. As noted by author Joseph Mathews:

There were no news blackouts, no prolonged periods in which the public had little idea of what was taking place. Nor, with a few exceptions, were major battles or campaigns misrepresented as to their military success or failure. To a greater degree than in World War I, the tone of the news was realistic. Unfounded atrocity stories, fanciful heroics, and victories without loss but with huge enemy tolls, appeared less often than in the earlier war. At certain periods the strictly military news emanating from totalitarian sources, especially that designed for foreign consumption, was accurate.⁵

Additionally, World War II correspondents were permitted to interview officers dealing with operations, intelligence and military government. General Eisenhower led the way for subordinate commanders by making himself accessible to the press. Military censorship was strictly enforced, however, and this no doubt was a factor in the openness of military

⁴Frederick Palmer, With My Own Eyes. A Personal Story of Battle Years, cited by Mathews, Reporting the Wars, p. 155.

⁵Mathews, Reporting the Wars, p. 177.

leaders.

The reporting of war began an evolutionary change during the Korean War. Television cameras made their battlefield debut, although they played only a minor role. Additionally, the long-distance telephone was introduced to combat. This hastened the transmission of news, but also created a new and unique problem for military security.

In terms of military-press relations, the Korean War began with a U.S. experiment with "voluntary censorship." In essence, reporters were responsible for censoring their own work. However, at the request of many newsmen, military censorship was imposed within a year of the war's outbreak. It was also during this campaign that "censorship at the source" became a real concern for correspondents. Many senior officers did not inform reporters of impending actions and generally divulged as little information as possible.

Toward the end of the war, military-media relations became increasingly strained. One reason was that many reporters, like many politicians back home, had become very critical in their views about the U.S. role in the conflict.

Vietnam picked up where Korea left off. Voluntary censorship was the official policy, but censorship at the source peaked. Many correspondents did not hesitate to write about the war the way they saw it. Initially, their reviews were mainly confined to military operations. However, as the war dragged on, more reporters began questioning the

legitimacy of U.S. involvement. As a result, many officers became convinced that American opposition to the war was growing because of biased reporting by the news media. One author summed up the military-press relationship like this:

No U.S. conflict since the Civil War was to stir so much hostility among the military toward the media as the drawn-out conflict in Vietnam. Indeed, some commentators (and generals) were retrospectively to conclude that the war was lost on America's television screens and in the newspapers, not on the battlefield.⁶

The media's coverage of the surprising 1968 Tet offensive is an oft-cited example of a military victory turned to defeat by the press. Television and print coverage of this event was excruciatingly detailed and instantaneously transmitted to the American public. Whether reporters' accounts of this and other war news had any effect on the outcome of the Vietnam War is still the subject of much debate. Regardless, the military emerged from Vietnam with a vehement distrust of the media.⁷

The recent military operation in Grenada rekindled animosity between the military and press. Media officials were irate because they were not informed of the impending

⁶ Robert Elegant, "How to Lose a War," Encounter, August 1981, cited by Peter Braestrup, "Background Paper" in Battle Lines (New York: Priority Press Publications, 1985), p. 61.

⁷ A 1982 Scott-Taylor study indicated that military officers still harbored a deep-rooted hostility toward the media because of perceived irresponsible reporting in Vietnam. Officers cited coverage of the Tet offensive as a glaring example. See Alf Pratte, "Media-Military Dilemma Now a Different Breed of Cat," Newspaper Research Journal 5 (Spring 1984): 47.

invasion. In fact, they were not told of the operation until it was well underway. Additionally, reporters were not allowed on the island for the first two days but were detained on neighboring Barbados where they were given news handouts with photos and film taken by the military. It was not until the third day of fighting that a small pool of wire service and network correspondents were permitted on Grenada, and then only with a military escort.

The government gave three reasons for not including the media in this venture. First, it wanted to preserve the secrecy of the surprise invasion. Officials felt if media personnel were briefed, the news would leak out and the secrecy of the mission would be compromised. Second, there was a pervasive feeling that media participation would hinder military operations. Finally, officials said press personnel were prohibited from the battle scene for the latter's safety and protection.

Because news correspondents have historically covered United States forces in combat since the Civil War, it is no wonder a strong media backlash resulted. Most arguments centered on what reporters saw as their "right" to coverage and the American citizens' "right" to be informed by an impartial source. For example, former CBS news anchorman Walter Cronkite decried the action by saying: "This is our foreign policy and we have a right to know precisely what is happening, and there can be no excuse in denying people that

right."⁸ Similarly, the American Newspaper Publishers Association issued this sharply worded message: "Such actions to keep correspondents of a free press from serving the information needs of a free society are unprecedented and intolerable."⁹

As a result of press clamor, Defense Secretary Weinberger and General Vessey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, appointed retired Major General Winant Sidle to head a joint commission of press and military representatives for the purpose of providing recommendations on how to plan news coverage guidelines for future military missions. The Sidle Commission met in February 1984 and proposed the following recommendations:

'That public affairs planning for military operations be conducted concurrently with operational planning.' . . .

When a pool of reporters is necessary, it should be as large and representative as possible. . . .

Accreditation of reporters should be studied. . . .

'That a basic tenet governing media access to military operations should be voluntary compliance by the media with security guidelines or ground rules established and issued by the military. . . .'

Qualified military personnel should assist correspondents covering an operation. . . .

Planners should consider needs of the press to send their stories to their home offices but 'these communications must not interfere with combat and combat support operations.'

Planners should ensure transport for correspondents.

Relations between the press and the military

⁸"Media Access to Grenada Stirs Controversy," AP Log, 31 October 1983, pp. 1 and 4.

⁹Neil Swan and David Rambo, "Public Backed Blackout? Polls Inconclusive," Presstime, December 1983, p. 26.

could be improved . . . 'through the time-tested vehicle of having reasonable people sit down with reasonable people and discuss their problems.'¹⁰

On 23 August 1984 Weinberger made the commission report public and ordered the recommendations put into effect.

In review, one historian has said that military combat coverage by the press has often been viewed as a natural, inevitable contest between the two forces involved. According to this view, the job of the journalist is to get as much news as he can by any means he can devise. The responsibility of the military is to see that the journalist obtains nothing that the military does not want him to have.¹¹ This conception seems to be as contemporary today as it was in 1957 when the author reported it.

Public Opinion

The military-press confrontation over Grenada also highlighted a relatively recent but increasingly important consideration in military news reporting: public opinion. The public's initial reaction to the press blockade was swift, though quite unexpected by the media. For example, shortly after the invasion NBC delivered a scathing editorial protesting the government's treatment. Viewers, however, did not share the station's views. Resulting letters and telephone calls received by NBC ran 5 to 1 supporting the

¹⁰Richard Halloran, "Pentagon Issues News Guidelines for Combat Zones," The New York Times, 24 August 1984, p. 7.

¹¹Mathews, Reporting the Wars, p. 205.

press ban.¹² Similarly, Editor and Publisher magazine found in an informal poll of a dozen dailies that letters-to-the-editor were running 3 to 1 in favor of the ban.¹³ Time magazine's letters ran 8 to 1 against the press and the Oakland Tribune reported letters 7 to 1 against.¹⁴

Later polls, however, indicated that the initial anti-press ferocity may have been a minority view. For example, a Washington Post/ABC News poll conducted a month after the invasion revealed that "48% thought the government tried too much to control Grenada news, compared to 38% who felt it hadn't."¹⁵ A December poll by Louis Harris found that "65% believed 'a small group of reporters should have been allowed to accompany the troops when they invaded Grenada in order to report it to the American people.'"¹⁶ Several other polls reported similar findings.

One author, later writing of the public's reaction over Grenada, indicated that support for press curbs was probably more a function of approval of U.S. policy in Grenada than an

¹² Joseph A. Kopec, "The Big Chill: A PR Man's Perspective on America's Frosty Attitude Toward Journalists," Vital Speeches of the Day, 15 June 1984, p. 529.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Carl S. Stepp, "In the Wake of Grenada," The Quill, March 1984, p. 13.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Louis Harris, "Does the Public Really Hate the Press?" Columbia Journalism Review, March-April 1983, cited by Braestrup, "Background Paper," p. 120.

expression of opposition to the press.¹⁷ Still, when the polling was finished, it did appear that much of the public favored the government over the press.

This apparent public-press schism is not an isolated incident, either. A similar finding was noted in 1969-1970 by several polls conducted to determine if then Vice President Agnew's scathing attacks on the press had affected the public's perception of the media. A Louis Harris survey indicated 56% thought Agnew was right "in criticizing the way the television networks cover the news."¹⁸ Similarly, a Gallup poll showed "a new low of only four in ten across the country who thought 'the television networks deal fairly with political and social issues.'" Finally, a CBS News telephone survey conducted during the same period "reported only 42% of the U.S. public advocating freedom of the press."¹⁸

The latest tiff between the press and public over Grenada will probably not last, however. Over the years support for press freedom has tended to fluctuate depending on the era, issues of the day, and the public's attitude toward other institutions in our society. For example, during the Watergate period confidence in the executive branch dropped sharply, while confidence in the press rose. President Carter's early days in office prompted a resurgence of respect for the executive branch and a corresponding drop

¹⁷ Braestrup, "Background Paper," p. 120.

¹⁸ Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Opinion of the News Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 34 (Winter 1970-1971): 630.

for the press. However, as confidence in Carter diminished, trust in the press increased.

In 1983 with much of the public supporting both President Reagan and U.S. intervention in Grenada, we once again witnessed a decline in support for the press. Thus, evidence seems to indicate that when support or confidence in our government is high, press support declines. Conversely, when support for government is low, the public appears to welcome the watchdog role that the press plays.¹⁹

The Current Study

The historical review of the military-media relationship has demonstrated that it has traditionally been one of an adversarial nature. Although the Sidle Commission has attempted to achieve a more harmonious working relationship between the two institutions, it remains to be seen whether this will occur.

It is one thing for the two groups to agree on the necessity of press coverage of U.S. military operations. It is also relatively easy for them to agree on "broad guidelines" to accommodate the press in wartime. However, it is most difficult to come to terms with the more substantive and procedural issues concerning press coverage of the military.

Testimonial to this point are the results of a recent

¹⁹David C. Gergen, "The Message to the Media," Public Opinion 7 (April/May 1984): 7.

military-media panel discussion. The panel consisted of current and former military and government leaders, as well as representatives from several news organizations. Although discussants agreed that press coverage of American troops in combat is a necessity, little consensus existed on specific issues. Through the use of detailed scenarios, vast differences in opinions surfaced among panel members on such issues as what the press should and should not report, if and when censorship and physical restrictions on access should be imposed, and the psychological effects of press coverage on soldiers in combat and U.S. citizens at home.²⁰

It is obvious that the "right" answers concerning this complicated matter are both debatable and elusive. As was illustrated in the last section, the American public is also concerned about, but divided on, the issue of how much freedom the press should have in covering our military in combat. It is within this context that the current study is undertaken.

The purpose of this study is to identify the attitudes of college students, at a major university, concerning this sensitive issue. Specifically, three groups of students are of interest: (1) ROTC, (2) Journalism, and (3) students other than those in the previous two groups. Also in this study, several variables are analyzed to determine if and how they

²⁰ PBS, "The Military and the News Media: The Correspondent Under Fire," 11 June 1985 and "The Military and the News Media: A Question of Access," 18 June 1985.

influence the attitudes of members within one or more of these groups.

This research endeavor is significant for several reasons. First, it is important to identify student attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. As demonstrated during the Vietnam War, college students can have a major impact on national policy matters. In the wake of Grenada and another round of controversy over press coverage of the military, it is an opportune time to see how the student constituency feels about this issue.

This study is also important because it attempts to determine the attitudes--and differences in attitudes--among tomorrow's leaders. How do future media and military leaders feel about press coverage of the military? Similarly, how do potential leaders in other fields feel about this issue? Journalism and ROTC students will be directly involved with shaping and carrying out future policies in this area. Students pursuing other career interests will also affect these policies, if not through legislation or lobbying, then through the powerful influencer, public opinion. This study, then, may give us a glimpse of what is on the horizon in the area of press coverage of the military.

Finally, this study is important because it attempts to identify several variables that may influence student attitudes. Very simply, by identifying factors that help shape people's attitudes we gain a more thorough understanding of human nature and behavior. As colleges and

universities are tasked, in a sense, with shaping the minds of tomorrow's leaders, they are an especially salient area in which to direct research of the present type.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

Problem Statement

What relationships exist among the attitudes of ROTC students, non-ROTC/Journalism students and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students at the University of Oklahoma toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime?

Previous Research

The problem statement from which this research effort departs presents a lucrative source for the development of hypotheses. Surprisingly, however, there seems to be a scarcity of scholarly work concerning the measurement of attitudes in this area.

Professional polling organizations, such as Gallup and Harris, have periodically measured public "confidence" or "trust" in the media and other American institutions. Otherwise, serious efforts to gauge attitudes toward press freedom appear to have been launched primarily in response to media involvement in a controversial issue or event. Watergate, Agnew's press attacks, and the Grenada incident are three examples of this.

Efforts to determine the public's attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news are even more infrequent. Of course, polls conducted immediately following the Grenada invasion are the most memorable and recent examples. Many of these were discussed in the preceding chapter.

Only two scholarly works could be located that involved the measurement of civilian attitudes on this issue.¹ Both studies compared the attitudes of a group of civilians with those of military members. Further, only one of these included college students among the survey groups. Following is a brief review of each study.

In 1974 Orwant and Ullmann compared "media attitudes" of a group of Pentagon officers with those of a control group comprised of male civilians. Specifically, attitudes on the following issues were measured: media treatment of classified information (the Pentagon papers), the media's right to publish information about military affairs, and the credibility of media reporting of military news.

A general finding relevant to the current study was that the civilian group did not reflect an overwhelmingly favorable attitude toward the media on any of the issues. In fact, on several survey questions they showed a less favorable attitude than the Pentagon officers.

Several specific findings concerning the civilian group

¹A number of studies have analyzed only military leader attitudes concerning press freedom in covering the military. Although interesting and informative, they are not relevant to the current study.

were as follows: nearly 46% felt that the publication of the Pentagon papers was "more harmful than helpful" to the Army's mission in Vietnam, and 43% felt similarly about its effect on American foreign policy; over 50% felt the media should need the Army's permission before releasing stories about military operations in Vietnam; more than 37% felt the media published "too much information which is strictly the Army's business;" and, almost 50% felt the media were "more untruthful than truthful" in their reporting of the Vietnam War.²

A 1976 study by Singletary compared media-related attitudes of field press censors in the Army Reserve with a group of senior military officers and a group of college students. Specifically, attitudes concerning press censorship and the mass media were measured.

Overall, the college students expressed the most favorable attitude toward the media and the least favorable attitude toward press censorship among the three groups. On most questions pertaining to these two issues, the difference between this group and the other two was significant.³ Unfortunately, the article provided no information that indicated the exact nature of the students' attitudes.

²Jack E. Orwant and John Ullmann, "Pentagon Officers' Attitudes on Reporting of Military News," Journalism Quarterly 51 (Autumn 1974): 465-467.

³Michael Singletary, "Attitudes of Military Censors and Other Officers on Mass Media Issues," Journalism Quarterly 54 (Winter 1977): 729-733.

In summary, no studies could be located that parallel either the scope or purpose of the current effort. The research reviewed in this section and the preceding chapter indicates there has been sporadic effort devoted to learning more about the public's attitudes concerning press freedom in reporting military news; however, the studies appear to be unrelated and predominantly situation-specific. Further, they have been attempts to look at only "how" respondents feel and not "why" they possess their particular attitudes.

Hypotheses and Related Research

The lack of research similar to the present study has necessitated the use of indirect support for many of the following hypotheses. In a number of instances, intuitive reasoning is applied to peripherally related studies to provide a basis and justification for the nature and direction of the stated hypothesis. Following are the hypotheses for this study together with supporting information and research.

Hypothesis 1

H₁: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students at the University of Oklahoma who are politically conservative will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime than those who are politically liberal.⁴

It is hypothesized that a student's political ideology

⁴For the remainder of the hypotheses, the phrase "at the University of Oklahoma" will not be repeated. Also for

has a significant relationship with his attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. Freedom of the press can be considered a hallmark of the civil liberties that exist in this country. There is little doubt that pro-civil liberties' attitudes are often associated with the more politically liberal members of our society.

Studies indicate that political ideology is related to civil liberties in general and freedom of the press in particular. For example, a 1978 study by Becker, Cobbey and Sobowale analyzed press criticism during the Watergate period. They found when reviewing several Gallup studies that the variables of political ideology, party affiliation and attitudes regarding Nixon were highly correlated with press criticism.⁵

In their book Dimensions of Tolerance, McClosky and Brill indicate that "conservatives, significantly more often than liberals, would deny an established right to individuals who do not live up to certain standards."⁶ The authors found very pronounced differences between the two ideological camps when looking at specific categories of civil liberties. Data from their nationally conducted Opinion and Values Survey of

brevity, "military news during wartime" will be referred to simply as "military news."

⁵ Lee B. Becker, Robin E. Cobbey, and Idowu A. Sobowale, "Public Support for the Press," Journalism Quarterly 55 (Autumn 1978): 427-428.

⁶ Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, Dimensions of Tolerance (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983), p. 277.

1976-1977 showed that "the differences between the left liberals and the conservative right in their support for freedom of the press is 74%; between the liberals and conservatives as such the difference is 47%."⁷ Similarly, findings from their 1978-1979 Civil Liberties Survey indicated that among "community leaders" 72% of "strong liberals" were highly tolerant on issues involving freedom of the press, compared with 36% for the "strong conservatives." Fifty-four percent of the "moderate liberals" were highly tolerant compared to 44% for the "moderate conservatives." Concerning the "mass public," 52% of "strong liberals," 35% of "moderate liberals," 27% of "moderate conservatives," and 22% of "strong conservatives" were found to be highly tolerant on freedom of the press issues.⁸

Hypotheses 2 and 3

H₂: ROTC students will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than both non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

H₃: Non-ROTC/Journalism students will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

It is hypothesized that ROTC students will have the most conservative attitudes of the three groups toward this aspect of press freedom. There are two reasons why this should occur. First, ROTC students should be more sensitive to the

⁷Ibid., p. 298.

⁸Ibid., p. 300.

need for military security than other students. This essential requisite to accomplishing a combat mission is continually stressed during military training. Therefore, these students may "think security" first and view the information needs of the public as less important.

Another reason ROTC students are expected to have a less favorable attitude on this issue is because they tend to be politically conservative. In fact, prior research has supported the notion that ROTC students, as a whole, are more politically conservative than other students. For example, Goertzel and Hengst (1971) attempted to determine if there were differences in attitudes and demographic variables between ROTC and non-ROTC students at the University of Oregon. Findings relevant to the current study indicated that ROTC students scored higher than the campus average on scales measuring aggressive nationalism and political-economic conservatism.⁹

Similarly, Dorman's 1974 study of male undergraduate students at Bowling Green University revealed that cadets "consistently indicated a more conservative political outlook than their non-ROTC cohorts."¹⁰

Research conducted for the U.S. Army Research Institute

⁹ Ted Goertzel and Acco Hengst, "The Military Socialization of University Students," Social Problems 19 (Fall 1971): 258.

¹⁰ James E. Dorman, "ROTC Cadet Attitudes: A Product of Socialization or Self-Selection?" Journal of Political and Military Sociology 4 (Fall 1976): 207.

in 1976 yielded findings consistent with those above. In the nation-wide random sample of high school seniors and college students, Card found that "ROTC students rated themselves as being more conservative than did non-ROTC students."¹¹

It is also hypothesized that students majoring in Journalism and Mass Communication will be the most favorable toward press freedom in reporting military news. Again, there are two reasons why this should be the case. First, the nature of their training should make them more staunch supporters of First Amendment freedoms than other students.

Another reason is that these students tend to be politically liberal in general. Prior research has shown this to be the case. For years researchers have found a relationship between political ideology and academic major. As far back as 1959, Nogee and Levin found significant differences in political party affiliation among students in different schools within Boston University. For instance, they found business majors to be mostly Republican and liberal arts students mostly Democrat.¹²

Two studies give a more precise indication of the liberal leanings of journalism students. In a 1971 survey of journalism students from five California colleges, Goodman

¹¹Josefina Card, "Differences in the Demographic and Sociopsychological Profile of ROTC vs Non-ROTC Students," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 11 (October 1977): 207.

¹²Philip Nogee and Murray B. Levin, "Some Determinants of Political Attitudes Among College Voters," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1958-1959): 463.

found these students to be predominantly liberal. Using a "political philosophy" scale, he categorized 56% of the students as left of center, 22% to the right and the remainder as neutral.¹³

In 1973 Matlage undertook a study of the socio-political attitudes of journalism students at the University of Texas, Austin. Data obtained from self-designated responses revealed that 53 students considered themselves liberal, 15 as conservative, and 2 as radical.¹⁴

Hypothesis 4

H₄: ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have not signed a contract.

Many students enrolled in freshman and sophomore-level ROTC courses are not under contract and could be taking the course(s) for personal reasons or as an elective to fulfill department or university requirements. As such they may have no interest in entering military service. Alternatively, students who have signed a contract have elected to fulfill a minimum period of military service, either on active duty or in the reserves/National Guard.

¹³ Michael J. Goodman, "A Study of College Journalism Student Attitudes," (Master's Thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1971), p. 37.

¹⁴ Bette W. Matlage, "Journalism Students: Their Disparate Social-Political Attitudes and Reading Habits" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1973), Journalism Abstracts 12 (1974): 138

Unfortunately, cited research has not reflected an attempt to "weed out" those students taking ROTC courses who do not intend to serve in the military. The most straightforward way to do this is by differentiating between contract and non-contract students.

It is reasonable to expect that those who are not committed to military service (have not signed a contract) will view press coverage of the military somewhat more liberally than those who are committed to military service (via a contract). The rationale used in Hypothesis 2 is equally applicable here. Contract students should be more sensitive to military security and they should reflect more conservative views in general.

Hypothesis 5

H₅: ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service and have been in the ROTC program for 2 years or less will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have signed a contract and have been in the program for more than 2 years.

Although researchers have generally found that ROTC students are more politically conservative than their non-ROTC counterparts, there has been disagreement as to the cause of this phenomenon. Some researchers contend that the ROTC program imparts on its students a "military mind," which is characterized as conservative, tradition oriented and generally opposed to social or political change.¹⁵ These

¹⁵Dorman, "ROTC Cadet Attitudes," p. 203

people espouse the socialization hypothesis. Others maintain that ROTC cadets are more conservative because of self-selection: young adults with certain characteristics and attitudes are more attracted to ROTC and the military than others.

In his 1976 article, Dorman gave an excellent review of research findings in this area. He noted that although several researchers had found evidence of socialization of attitudes and values in military training, most studies "have generally found no dramatic change in the attitudes or values of subjects as a function of military training."¹⁶ In his own study, he found that the "evidence indicates that self-selection better explains cadet/noncadet differences than the proposition of military socialization."¹⁷

However, in a subsequent study Card found widening differences between cadets and non-cadets with progressively older samples of students. However, she was not able to determine if this was due to self-selection, socialization or some other factor.¹⁸

In the current study, I will also attempt to determine whether socialization or self-selection better explains differences--if any are found--between ROTC and the other groups. I do this by analyzing ROTC students who have been

¹⁶Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 203

¹⁸Card, "Differences in Profile of ROTC vs Non-ROTC Students," p. 196.

in the program for two years or less and those who have been in the program for more than two years. Further, I include only contract students in order to ensure my results are not affected by students with no interest in military service.

Hypothesis 6

H₆: Non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are freshmen and sophomores will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who are juniors and seniors.

This hypothesis is designed to determine if there is a "liberalizing" effect on students at the university. Research has indicated that "the longer students remain in school, the more likely they are to be tolerant of non-conformity and supportive of the Bill of Rights."¹⁹ A 1979 article by Fabianic gave two possible reasons for this:

One is that as a student progresses through an undergraduate career, there is more exposure to courses which provide information and create a familiarity with the principles upon which the country was founded. This exposure to substance, accompanied by discussion and deliberation, serves to enhance a student's appreciation for an acceptance of different points of view and the principles protecting those who express them. Another explanation . . . is that students will encounter a variety of different lifestyles and a wide range of opinions among other students in the course of their educational careers. These incongruent experiences will serve to increase tolerance of nonconformity and respect for provisions of the Bill of Rights which protect these interests.²⁰

¹⁹David A. Fabianic, "Social Work and Criminal Justice Student Support of Civil Liberties," Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare 6 (March 1979): 222.

²⁰Ibid.

Hypothesis 7

H₇: Non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who have a more favorable attitude toward the military than the press will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have a more favorable attitude toward the press than the military.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, support for press freedom has historically fluctuated depending on the public's attitude toward other institutions in our society, especially our government. Becker, Cobbey and Sobowale presented findings to support this contention in their reanalysis of several polls conducted during the Watergate period. They concluded the data was supportive of the notion that "support of the press is negatively related to support of national leadership." They stated, "In terms of public opinion, the two institutions seem to have an adversary relationship."²¹

Thus, when attitudes are favorable toward the military--as part of our government--attitudes should be less favorable toward the press. It is also logical to expect those who favor the military over the press to similarly display a less favorable attitude toward press coverage of the military.

Hypothesis 8

H₈: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about media law will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about media law.

²¹Becker, "Public Support for the Press," p. 430

The premise upon which this hypothesis is based is very simple: the more knowledge a student has about media law, the more he will understand the importance of and support a free press. Although only one reference could be located that is relevant to this hypothesis, it contained strong supporting evidence. Data collected from the two nation-wide studies of McClosky and Brill indicated there is in fact a significant, positive relationship between these two variables. Using a "Civil Liberties Quiz," they found that scores on the achievement test were highly correlated with support for freedom of speech and press. The researchers boldly concluded that "the more respondents know about the laws and legal practices governing civil liberties issues, the stronger their support for freedom of speech and press."²²

Hypothesis 9

H₉: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about foreign affairs will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about foreign affairs.

This also seems to be a logical proposition. Certainly if one is sufficiently interested in foreign affairs to become knowledgeable of current events in this area, he should look more unfavorably upon any restriction (or attempted restriction) to this type of news.

A Los Angeles Times poll conducted following the Grenada

²²McClosky, Dimensions of Tolerance, p. 86.

invasion lends support to this hypothesis. Findings indicated that those who described themselves as "well-informed" were much less likely than those "poorly informed" to think the Grenada press restrictions should be applied again. Similarly, the "well-informed" were more likely to believe that reporters perform a necessary service by accompanying combat soldiers.²³

Summary of Hypotheses

- H₁: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students (at the University of Oklahoma) who are politically conservative will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news (during wartime) than those who are politically liberal.
- H₂: ROTC students will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than both non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.
- H₃: Non-ROTC/Journalism students will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.
- H₄: ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have not signed a contract.
- H₅: ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service and have been in the ROTC program for 2 years or less will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have signed a contract and have been in the program for more than 2 years.

²³Jack Nelson, "Bare Majority Backs Grenada News Blackout," Los Angeles Times, 20 November 1983, p. 25.

H₆: Non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are freshmen and sophomores will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who are juniors and seniors.

H₇: Non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who have a more favorable attitude toward the military than the press will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have a more favorable attitude toward the press than the military.

H₈: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about media law will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about media law.

H₉: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about foreign affairs will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about foreign affairs.

Definition of Terms

Attitude-- "This term has not been and probably cannot be distinguished clearly from such terms as trait, opinion, disposition, interest, value and temperament."²⁴

The term can "denote the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any

²⁴ Harry N. Rivlin (ed.), Encyclopedia of Modern Education, quoted in John E. Davis, "A Comparative Study of the Attitudes of College Sophomore ROTC Students, Selected Sophomore Non-ROTC Students, Parents of Both Groups of Students and University Faculty Toward the ROTC Programs on the Campus of the University of Oklahoma" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1970), p. 19.

specified topic."²⁵

"Attitudes may be inferred from the choice implicit in overt behavior. Attitude may also be inferred from expressive or symbolic behavior in which overt choice is implied or indirectly expressed, as on questionnaires . . ."²⁶

Attitude, therefore, is a predisposition to react in a certain way and can be inferred from a person's response to a questionnaire.

Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior Students--
Students will be classified by the traditional university method:

- a. Freshman--through 29 semester hours
- b. Sophomore--30 through 59 semester hours
- c. Junior--60 through 89 semester hours
- d. Senior--90 or more semester hours

Media Law--Statutes, regulations and case law concerning press freedom.

Military News--Information about the Department of Defense or any of the branches of the military.

Non-ROTC/Journalism Students--Undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma during the fall semester of the 1985-1986 school year, who are not enrolled in ROTC and have

²⁵ L.L. Thurstone, The Measurement of Values (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 216.

²⁶ Chester W. Harris, (ed.), Encyclopedia of Educational Research, quoted in Davis, "Attitudes Toward ROTC," p. 19.

a declared major in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Non-ROTC/Non-Journalism Students--Undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma during the fall semester of the 1985-1986 school year, who are not enrolled in ROTC and do not have a declared major in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Press--Members of the traditional print and broadcast media, to include television, radio, newspaper, and magazine. In this paper "press" is used interchangeably with "media."

Press Freedom--Right of the press to have access to and publish or broadcast information without government interference.

ROTC Students--Undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma during the fall semester of the 1985-1986 school year, who are enrolled in one or more courses in the Air Force, Army or Navy ROTC program.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Scientific research can be defined as a "systematic, controlled, empirical and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena."¹ It is useful to think of scientific research as consisting of seven steps: (1) development of the problem, (2) review of prior literature in the area, (3) research design, (4) data collection, (5) data analysis, (6) interpretation and conclusions, and (7) replication.² This chapter outlines the research design of the current study.

Wimmer and Dominick identify four broad research approaches: laboratory research, field research, survey research, and content analysis.³ The most appropriate approach for studying attitudes--the intent of the present study--is the survey method. By definition, "survey research

¹Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), p. 11.

²Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, Mass Media Research (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1983), p. 11.

³Ibid., p. 75.

studies large and small populations (or universes) by selecting and studying samples chosen from the populations to discover the relative incidence, distribution, and interrelations of sociological and psychological variables.⁴ This type of survey is frequently called "sample survey." A sample "is a subset or subsegment of the population that is taken to be representative of the population."⁵ If a sample is not representative of the population from which it is drawn, the results cannot be generalized. Therefore, representativeness is requisite if one intends to generalize findings to the larger population.

Determination of Sample Size

The populations of interest in the current study are ROTC students, non-ROTC/Journalism students, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students at the University of Oklahoma. The fall semester 1985 populations of these student groups were as follows: ROTC, 367; non-ROTC/Journalism, 983; and non-ROTC/non-Journalism, 14,463.⁶ Because it was neither necessary nor economically feasible to survey all members of the three groups, an appropriate sample had to be selected.

⁴Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, p. 410.

⁵Wimmer, Mass Media Research, p. 58.

⁶ROTC enrollment information was elicited from official class rolls obtained from the Air Force, Army, and Navy ROTC branches and was accurate as of 6 September 1985. Enrollment figures for the other two populations were obtained from Dr. Myrna Carney, director of the University of Oklahoma Center for Instructional Research. These figures were current as of 10 September 1985.

Two primary factors must be taken into consideration when determining sample size. First is the precision required for the findings. Quite simply, a researcher must determine how accurate he wants his measurements. In this regard, we speak of confidence levels (degrees of confidence) and confidence intervals (closeness to the parameter). Together these compose the sampling error, or the "level of confidence that the statistics fall within a specified interval from the parameter."⁷ Put another way, sampling error is the difference between the sample estimate and the true characteristic that would have been found if the entire population was surveyed.⁸ Additionally, one must estimate the hypothetical value or percentage of the population that will possess the characteristic (e.g., particular attitude) under study.

The formula used to compute sample size is as follows:

$$NS = \frac{P(100-P)T^2}{E^2}$$

where

NS = needed or required sample size;

P = anticipated or potential split in population attitude;

T = confidence level or tolerance desired; and

E = margin for permissible error (confidence interval).

⁷Earl R. Babbie, Survey Research Methods (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1973), p. 82.

⁸Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald Hursh-Cesar, Survey Research, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1981), p. 54.

For this study, it was assumed that on any given dichotomous question relating to attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news, 70% of the respondents would possess a favorable attitude and 30% would possess an unfavorable one. This was a conservative estimate used for all three populations under study; however, it was based upon the ROTC group which, it was felt, should reflect the least favorable attitudes toward this aspect of press freedom.

Next, the margin for permissible error was set at $\pm 7.5\%$ ⁹ with a 95% level of confidence (or ± 2 standard errors¹⁰). Using these figures, the above formula yielded a required sample size of 150 members for each group.

$$NS = \frac{70(100-70)2^2}{7.5^2} = 150$$

Sample Selection

After sample sizes were determined, it was necessary to select the samples to be surveyed. Two methods were employed. First, simple random sampling without replacement was used for the non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism student populations. A mainstay in survey research, this method provides a standard against which other

⁹ While frequently the margin for permissible error is set at 5% or less, a 7.5% margin was selected for this study. The slight increase in chance for error was felt to be offset by the sizable decrease in required sample sizes resulting from the larger percentage. In sum, while sacrificing little accuracy, the study would be much more logically, administratively, and financially manageable.

¹⁰Babbie, Survey Research Methods, p. 86.

selection techniques are compared. Wimmer and Dominick note:

The most basic type of probability sampling is the simple random sample, where each subject or unit in the population has an equal chance of being selected. If a subject is drawn from the population and removed from subsequent selections, the procedure is known as random sampling without replacement--the most widely used random sampling method.¹¹

Backstrom and Cesar have noted that this sampling method is very efficient and most appropriate for small populations whose members can be readily identified. Populations cited by the authors as especially suitable for this method included state legislators, city physicians, and university students.¹²

The University of Oklahoma Center for Instructional Research provided a means for selecting the non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism samples. Using the SAS computer software program, this office was able to randomly select members for each sample from the university's computerized student master file.¹³ During the third week of the fall 1985 semester, a sample of 200 students was drawn from each of the two populations.¹⁴

¹¹Wimmer, Mass Media Research, p. 61.

¹²Backstrom, Survey Research, p. 59.

¹³Information concerning the software program and data base used in the sample selection was given to the author by Dr. Carney.

¹⁴Although the required sample size was 150, an additional 50 members were selected for each sample group to compensate for incorrect mailing addresses and potentially low response rates. The method of data collection will be discussed in a subsequent section.

The ROTC sample was obtained in a different manner. Here a stratified systematic sampling technique was used. This method combines two widely accepted procedures of sample selection. In this procedure, a larger population is divided into subgroups according to a predetermined characteristic or variable. In other words, the population is stratified. Based on the proportion of the total population represented by a given subgroup, the researcher then selects a sample from that subgroup constituting the same proportion of his desired sample size. Members from each of the subgroups are selected in a systematic manner. That is, every n^{th} element in the subgroup is chosen for inclusion in the sample.¹⁵

In the present study, the ROTC population was stratified by branch: Air Force, Army and Navy. Although no differences in attitudes among branches were hypothesized, stratification was used to ensure proper representation of any branch-specific quirks within the larger ROTC sample.

Student rosters were obtained from each ROTC department during the third week of the fall 1985 semester. After the total ROTC population was determined, stratified systematic sampling was used to select 180 students.¹⁶ Table 1 illustrates the student enrollment by ROTC branch and the

¹⁵An amplification of this description is presented by Babbie in Survey Research Methods, p. 95.

¹⁶Additional members were selected for this group as well. However, because student addresses obtained from the ROTC departments were considered more accurate than those of the other two groups, fewer additional students were selected.

corresponding number selected for the survey sample.

TABLE 1

STUDENT ENROLLMENT AND SAMPLE SELECTION
BY ROTC BRANCH¹⁷

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
Air Force	128	63
Army	112	55
Navy	127	62
TOTAL	367	180

Questionnaire Design

The success of survey research is contingent upon the development of an effective questionnaire. Careful thought and preparation must be devoted to constructing a measuring instrument that will permit the researcher to elicit information concerning the subject under study.

Initially, the general structure of the questions had to be determined. The close-ended or structured item was deemed more appropriate than the unstructured or open-ended item for two reasons. First, open-ended items tend to require more reflective thinking and longer responses. This extra work could dissuade many respondents from answering the questions. Second, close-ended questions are easier and less time consuming for the researcher to analyze and code.

The next step involved constructing questions that would elicit the information necessary for testing the hypotheses of the study. With this in mind, the questionnaire created

¹⁷ Enrollment figures were accurate as of 6 September 1985.

for this survey consisted of six sections (see Appendix A).¹⁸

Briefly, the questionnaire was arranged with the more general questions and sections presented first, followed by those of a more specific nature. Demographic information was sought in the closing section. Each of the first five sections consisted of related items designed to measure a single dimension of attitude or knowledge. Additionally, Sections I, II, IV, V, and VI were intended to gather information relevant to the independent variables of this study. Section III was the instrument used to evaluate the study's dependent variable. A more detailed discussion of each section follows.

Section I

This section consisted of 17 statements concerning various economic, social, and foreign policy issues of contemporary significance. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement using a 7-point Likert Scale. The numerical values and wording used in the scale were as follows: 1) strongly agree, 2) agree, 3) slightly agree, 4) undecided, 5) slightly disagree, 6) disagree, and 7) strongly disagree. Data gathered in this section was used to identify political ideology through the use of a summated-rating scale.

¹⁸The questionnaire used in the study was four, double-sided pages in length and was printed on legal-sized paper. The questionnaire at Appendix A is identical in structure and substance, but the length has been adjusted and other minor changes have been made to conform to the smaller page size.

Items 1, 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17 were considered conservative statements. In other words, respondents indicating some level of agreement with these statements were considered to have conservative attitudes on these items. Alternatively, items 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 15 were considered liberal statements. Responses of agreement to these items were considered to be reflective of liberal attitudes.

In order to sum the scores, numerical responses to liberal items were inverted. Simply, a "1" response was recoded to a "7," "2" was recoded to "6," "3" to "5," "5" to "3," "6" to "2," and "7" to "1." In this way the numbers 1 through 3 would always indicate a conservative attitude and the numbers 5 through 7 would always represent a liberal one.

Using this summated-rating scale as a measure of political ideology, the lowest or most conservative score possible was 17. Sixty-eight was the central/neutral score, and the highest or most liberal score attainable was 119.

Section II

The intent for this section was to determine level of knowledge about foreign affairs. Respondents were provided with a list of 12 recent news events on the local, national, and international scene. They were asked to indicate their level of knowledge about each event by using the following scale: 1) no knowledge, 2) slightly knowledgeable, 3) somewhat knowledgeable, 4) quite knowledgeable, and 5)

extremely knowledgeable.

Items 1, 5, 9, 10, and 12 were considered foreign affairs items and comprised a summated-rating scale concerning knowledge in this area. Using this scale, the lowest total score attainable on these items was 5, representing "no knowledge." Conversely, the highest score, 25, would indicate one was "extremely knowledgeable" about the selected foreign affairs items.

It was realized that one of the shortcomings of determining level of knowledge through self-evaluation, as in this section, is the possibility of respondent exaggeration. To identify individuals who attempted to overstate their knowledge, two bogus or dummy items were placed among the legitimate ones. Items 3 and 7 were fabricated for this purpose. The intent was to exclude respondents who indicated they were "quite knowledgeable" or "extremely knowledgeable" on either of these items from further analysis in regard to the variable of foreign affairs knowledge.

Section III

This section was the heart of the study. It was designed to measure the dependent variable, attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime. Using the 7-point Likert Scale employed in Section I, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each of 30 statements. Again, the responses to individual items were tallied to form a

summated-rating scale.

Items 4, 12-16, 18, 22, 24, 26, and 29 were considered positive statements about press freedom. That is, respondents indicating agreement with these statements were reflecting an attitude favorable toward press freedom. The remainder of the items were negative.

To facilitate the use of a summated scale, the responses to positive items were inverted in the manner explained for Section I. As a result, the highest score possible was 210, the mid-level score was 120, and the lowest potential score was 30. The high score represented the most favorable attitude toward press freedom.

The first 13 items in the section were general statements concerning historical and abstract issues related to press coverage of the military. The remaining items were situation-specific. That is, several short scenarios were provided and respondents were required to address freedom-of-the-press issues in the context of those specific situations.

It was decided that scenarios should be used in addition to the more abstract statements for two reasons. First, respondents often find it easier to answer questions relating to a specific, given situation. Second, it has been found that the amount of support for civil liberties frequently differs depending upon whether one is responding to an issue in the abstract or one is given a concrete application.¹⁹

¹⁹For instance, McClosky and Brill recorded this finding in their research. See Dimensions of Tolerance, p. 417.

Therefore, it was felt that by using both of these types of questions, a more accurate and true reflection of respondent attitudes could be obtained.

Section IV

A 7-point semantic differential scale was used in this section as a means of determining the favorableness of attitudes toward military and press members. The section was comprised of two parts.

The first consisted of eleven sets of bipolar adjectives that were used to rate members of the U.S. military along several dimensions. The words in each set were separated by the numbers 1 through 7, which were translated as follows: 1) left adjective very closely describes, 2) left adjective generally describes, 3) left adjective slightly describes, 4) neutral, 5) right adjective slightly describes, 6) right adjective generally describes, and 7) right adjective very closely describes. Respondents were asked to select the number in each set that best expressed their opinion about members of the military.

The second part of the section was identical to the first, except it pertained to members of the U.S. press. The same sets of adjectives were used and the same procedures applied.

In a manner similar to previous sections, responses were used to form a summated-rating scale for each part, one for the military and one for the press. Hence, a type of

"favorableness scale" was produced, measuring respondent attitudes toward members of the two institutions.

All items, but for one, were listed with the favorable or positive adjective on the left and the unfavorable or negative descriptor on the right. Because the "biased/unbiased" adjectival set listed the positive descriptor on the right, responses to this item were simply inverted in the manner described for previous sections.

The lowest or most favorable score attainable for each the press and the military was 11. A neutral score was 44, and the highest or least favorable score was 77.

Section V

The purpose of this section was to determine knowledge about media law. It consisted of 10 multiple-choice questions which required the respondent to indicate the current state of affairs in selected aspects of press law. It was felt that any well-informed student should be able to answer a majority of the questions correctly. The correct answers to the items were as follows:

Item 1 = (2)
2 = (1)
3 = (1)
4 = (3)
5 = (2)

Item 6 = (3)
7 = (2)
8 = (3)
9 = (1)
10 = (3)

The total number of correct answers was determined and this figure was used to indicate a respondent's knowledge of selected media law issues. Of course the highest score possible was 10 and the lowest was 0.

Section VI

The items in this section related to demographic and other factual information concerning respondents. Requested information included sex, age, course load, and class year. There were also several military and ROTC-related questions, with several of these applicable only to ROTC students.

Pretest

Upon completion of the questionnaire a pretest was conducted. The objective of the pretest was twofold: to gain an insight into the reliability and validity of the testing instrument, and to identify possible weaknesses in the design or wording of instructions and questions.

Seven respondents participated in the pretest. They represented a diversity in college-educational emphasis and career fields. A brief description of the respondents is as follows: an Army lieutenant; a journalism professor; a legal secretary and undergraduate student in prelaw; a local city employee who received an undergraduate degree in meteorology; a ROTC student and political science major; a recently graduated business major; and an undergraduate journalism student. Four of these were males and three were female.

Each respondent was administered the questionnaire individually. After completion, the respondent participated in a careful review of the questionnaire in an effort to identify problem areas. As a result of these reviews, several changes were made to improve the wording of

instructions and individual questions.

An analysis of the data gathered during the pretest showed that the Army lieutenant, business major, and ROTC student achieved low summated scores in Section III of the questionnaire. Conversely, the journalism professor, prelaw student, and journalism student scored very high. In other words, the former group displayed the most unfavorable attitudes toward press freedom in covering the military, while the latter group displayed the most favorable. This result was as anticipated and provided support for the validity and reliability of the testing instrument.

Questionnaire Administration

The questionnaire was administered via the mail survey. The advantages of this method are discussed at length by Wimmer and Dominick. Among those mentioned are the relatively reasonable cost; the ability to selectively sample highly specialized audiences; respondent anonymity which enhances the likelihood of candid answers to sensitive issues; the absence of potential interviewer bias; and the opportunity for the respondent to answer questions at his own pace.²⁰ Other compelling reasons for using the mail survey included the lengthiness of the questionnaire developed for this study, the ease of distribution, and the time saved by not interviewing each respondent either by telephone or in person.

²⁰Wimmer, Mass Media Research, pp. 125-126.

The questionnaires were mailed to the three groups of students during the second week of September 1985. Attached to each questionnaire was a cover letter (see Appendix B). This letter explained the nature and purpose of the survey, asked the respondent to complete and return the questionnaire, and assured anonymity. Also enclosed in each packet was a self-addressed, stamped envelope for returning completed questionnaires. Finally, each questionnaire was coded to help identify those who had not responded in the event a follow-up letter was necessary.

Two weeks after the initial mailing it was determined that a follow-up letter was needed. A letter was subsequently sent to all students who had not returned a questionnaire (see Appendix C). This letter reiterated the nature of the research project and requested that students complete and return the questionnaire sent earlier.

Method of Data Analysis

The final consideration in the research design is how to analyze the data once it is gathered. The most appropriate statistical test for data analysis depends upon several factors: the purpose of the study, the nature of the hypotheses, and the structure of the questions. Further, some tests merely summarize or describe the data collected (descriptive), while others also summarize the relationships between various sets of data and make estimates of how likely it is that such characteristics or relationships exist in the

larger population (inferential).²¹

The purpose of the current study is to analyze the relationships among the attitudes of three groups of students at the University of Oklahoma: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students. Specifically, as outlined by the hypotheses, the study is concerned with determining differences that exist in attitudes toward press freedom in covering military news during wartime. Finally, the questions concerning the dependent variable were structured to gather interval data (i.e., the Likert Scale). Thus, the data can be analyzed by the use of parametric statistics.

An ideal statistical test for measuring differences between individuals or groups, and the one chosen for this study, is the t-test. This is one of the most commonly used parametric tools for testing hypotheses about differences in populations.²² As Stempel and Westley note:

This commonly used difference of means test is appropriate for two-group problems, that is, for situations where one is comparing the mean(s) of one group with the mean(s) of another group.

. . . It produces a t-statistic with accompanying significance test, which enables the researcher to estimate the probability that a difference observed between sample means is a real difference in the universe from which the sample was drawn.²³

The hypotheses of this study have created a number of

²¹ Guido H. Stempel and Bruce H. Westley, eds., Research Methods in Mass Communication (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.), pp. 49 and 55.

²² Backstrom, Survey Research, p. 357.

²³ Stempel, Research Methods, p. 78.

independent variables to be compared as two-group problems. Several of these include: politically conservative vs. liberal students; ROTC students vs. non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students; contract ROTC students vs. non-contract ROTC students; and those knowledgeable about media law vs. those with little or no knowledge in this area.

It should be noted also that there are two variations of the t-test. Each is used under different circumstances. The particular version used in this study was the one-tailed t-test. This type is warranted when a direction in group differences is predicted by the hypothesis.²⁴ In the current study, all hypotheses predict direction. Therefore, the one-tailed test was determined to be most appropriate for this research.

²⁴Carol A. Saslow, Basic Research Methods (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1982), p. 219.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Responses

Although the follow-up letter requested that completed questionnaires be returned by 7 October 1985, questionnaires were accepted through 12 October.

As Table 2 indicates, the response rates of the three sample groups were 56% for ROTC, 41% for non-ROTC/Journalism, and 36% for non-ROTC/non-Journalism students. Of the 237 questionnaires returned, 7 were not usable because either they were received after 12 October (4) or they were inadequately completed (3).¹ As a result, the total number of usable questionnaires was 230, with 94 of those from ROTC, 73 from non-ROTC/Journalism, and 63 from non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

As noted in the previous chapter, a sample of 150 students from each population of interest would yield a +7.5%

¹These three questionnaires each had one or more pages that were not filled in. It should be noted here that if only one or two items were not completed, the questionnaire was still used. If an item in Sections I, III, or IV was skipped, a "neutral" response was assigned. Questions not completed in Section V were assigned an "unsure" response. There were no uncompleted questions in Sections II or VI.

margin for error at the 95% level of confidence, given an anticipated split of 70%-30% on any dichotomous question. Because the actual number of respondents in each group was less than 150, the margin for error necessarily increased.

TABLE 2

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY SAMPLES AND RESPONSE RATES

	<u>ROTC</u>	<u>Non-ROTC/ Jour</u>	<u>Non-ROTC/ Non-Jour</u>
Original Sample Size	180	200	200
Deductions	8	19	21
Determined to be ROTC Student	--	1	5
Withdrew from ROTC program	7	--	--
Inappropriate mailing address	1	18	16
Adjusted Sample Size	172	181	179
Returned Questionnaires	97(56%)	75(41%)	65(36%)
Unusable Questionnaires	3	2	2
Usable Questionnaires	94	73	63

Based upon the true number of responses, the margins for error at the 95% confidence level were determined to be $\pm 9.5\%$, $\pm 10.7\%$, and $\pm 11.5\%$ for ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students, respectively. Of course these intervals decreased on questions reflecting less than the anticipated split (e.g., 90%-10%) and increased on questions resulting in more than the anticipated split (e.g., 60%-40%). These possible variances due to error should be taken into consideration when analyzing and interpreting the results of this study.

Representativeness of Respondents

Next, it seems appropriate to look at the respondents within the three survey groups to determine how closely they represented their universe. For this check, ROTC students were analyzed by branch and sex, while the other two groups were analyzed by sex and grade.

As can be seen in Table 3, respondents in the ROTC group were very closely aligned to the universe in both branch and sex. Likewise, the sex and grade composition of non-ROTC/Journalism student respondents was quite similar to that of the larger population.

However, the sex and grade composition of non-ROTC/non-Journalism students was slightly askew when compared with that of the universe. While males comprised 58.2% of this student group at the University of Oklahoma, only 44.4% of these respondents were male. For grades, it appears that sophomores and seniors were slightly overrepresented by sample respondents, while freshmen were underrepresented.

Although no firm explanation can be given for these discrepancies, it is speculated that the results could have been due merely to chance. Because of the relatively small number of respondents in the non-ROTC/non-Journalism group, two or three responses could significantly affect the percentages in any of these categories. Whatever the cause, however, one needs to bear these differences in mind when analyzing and interpreting results pertaining to non-ROTC/non-Journalism respondents.

TABLE 3

COMPOSITION OF KEY VARIABLES IN UNIVERSE AND
AMONG SURVEY RESPONDENTS

GROUP	UNIVERSE*		RESPONDENTS	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ROTC				
Branch				
AF	128	34.9%	35	37.2%
Army	112	30.5	28	29.8
Navy	127	34.6	31	33.0
Sex				
Male	320	87.2	82	87.2
Female	47	12.8	12	12.8
Non-ROTC/ Journalism				
Sex				
Male	417	42.4	27	37.0
Female	566	57.6	46	63.0
Grade				
Fr	212	21.6	15	20.5
Soph	241	24.5	14	19.2
Jr	236	24.0	18	24.7
Sr	294	29.9	26	35.6
Non-ROTC/ Non-Journalism				
Sex				
Male	8417	58.2	28	44.4
Female	6046	41.8	35	55.6
Grade				
Fr	4726	32.7	12	19.0
Soph	3010	20.8	17	27.0
Jr	2808	19.4	13	20.6
Sr	3919	27.1	21	33.3

*Figures accurate as of 6 September (ROTC) and 10 September 1985 (Non-ROTC groups).

Tests of Hypotheses

Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the one-tailed t-test was used to analyze the hypotheses in this study. The

t-test, as well as other data analysis conducted as part of this research, was performed using the SPSS^X computer software program.²

Generally, each hypothesis was analyzed as follows. First, it was divided into one or more two-group problems, as defined by the independent variable(s). The null hypothesis in each instance was that no significant difference in attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news would exist between the groups. Once the groups were created, mean attitude scores were analyzed to see if they were significantly different in the predicted direction.

The level of significance chosen for rejecting the null hypothesis was .05. In other words, if there was a 5% or less probability that the observed difference in mean scores could have occurred by chance or through sampling error the null hypothesis was rejected. The .05 level was selected because it is commonly used in social science research.³

The following sections describe the results of analysis related to each hypothesis. It should be reiterated that the mean attitude scores used for analysis were based on the sum scores of all responses to the 30 questions concerning the dependent variable. As described in Chapter III, the lowest sum score attainable was 30, the highest was 210, and the central score was 120. The low score represented the least

²Information on utilizing this program was obtained from SPSS^X User's Guide (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1983).

³ See Babbie, Survey Research Methods, p. 309.

favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime. The high score represented the most favorable attitude on this issue.

Hypothesis 1

H_1 : ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students at the University of Oklahoma who are politically conservative will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime than those who are politically liberal.⁴

Using the summated-rating scale described previously, 138 respondents scored between 17 and 67 points and thus were considered to be politically conservative. Likewise, 84 students scored between 69 and 119 points and were grouped in the liberal category. The 8 students who achieved the central score of 68 were not considered in this analysis.

TABLE 4

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF POLITICALLY
CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL STUDENTS

Group	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE	T Value	Degrees of Freedom	I Tail Prob.
1*	138	95.91	24.37	2.07	-7.37	220	0.000
2**	84	121.14	25.31	2.76			

*Politically Conservative Students

**Politically Liberal Students

As can be seen in Table 4, the mean attitude score of

⁴For the remainder of the hypotheses, the phrase "at the University of Oklahoma" will not be repeated. Also for brevity, "military news during wartime" will be referred to simply as "military news."

conservative students was 95.91. The mean for liberals was 121.14. The difference between these scores was significant ($p < .05$) in the hypothesized direction. Hypothesis 1 is therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 2

H_2 : ROTC students will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than both non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there were 94 ROTC, 73 non-ROTC/Journalism, and 63 non-ROTC/non-Journalism respondents. To analyze Hypothesis 2, first the mean attitude score of the ROTC sample was compared with that of the non-ROTC/Journalism sample. As illustrated in Table 5, the mean score for ROTC students was 88.29 and for non-ROTC/Journalism students it was 123.19. The difference in scores was significant at the .05 level. Thus, the first portion of the current hypothesis has been supported.

TABLE 5

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF ROTC STUDENTS
AND NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM STUDENTS

Group	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE	T Value	Degrees of Freedom	1 Tail Prob.
1*	94	88.29	21.09	2.18	-9.74	165	0.000
2**	73	123.19	25.20	2.95			

*ROTC Students

**Non-ROTC/Journalism Students

Next, the mean score of the ROTC group was compared with

that of the non-ROTC/non-Journalism group. Table 6 summarizes this analysis. As can be seen, the mean attitude scores were again significantly different ($p < .05$) in the projected direction. The mean score for ROTC members was 88.29 as compared with the non-ROTC/non-Journalism mean of 110.44. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 is accepted: ROTC students did possess a significantly less favorable attitude than did their non-ROTC counterparts.

TABLE 6

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF ROTC STUDENTS AND
NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	94	88.29	21.09	2.18	-6.20	155	0.000
2**	63	110.44	23.20	2.92			

*ROTC Students

**Non-ROTC/Non-Journalism Students

Hypothesis 3

H_3 : Non-ROTC/Journalism students will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

It was noted above that the mean attitude score of non-ROTC/Journalism respondents was 123.19 and that of the non-ROTC/non-Journalism group was 110.44. Table 7 illustrates that this difference in scores was statistically significant ($p < .05$). Because the difference was in the expected direction, Hypothesis 3 is accepted.

TABLE 7

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM STUDENTS
AND NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	73	123.19	25.20	2.95	3.05	134	0.002
2**	63	110.44	23.20	2.92			

*Non-ROTC Journalism Students

**Non-ROTC/Non-Journalism Students

The findings of this and the previous hypothesis have suggested that each of the student groups had a significantly different attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news. However, it was also realized that differences in male/female composition could have affected the outcome more than any inherent group differences.

To check for this possibility, the mean attitude scores of male and female respondents within each group were compared. Data concerning these comparisons are located at Appendix D. Suffice it to report here, however, that there were no significant differences found between the mean attitude scores of males and females in any of the three survey groups. This finding refutes the notion that sexual composition was a primary contributor to the significant attitudinal differences found among the three groups.

Hypothesis 4

H₄: ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in

reporting military news than those who have not signed a contract.

Of the 94 students enrolled in one or more ROTC courses in the fall 1985 semester, 57 were under contract and 37 were not. As indicated in Table 8, the mean attitude score for contract students was 91.14. The score for their noncontract counterparts was 83.89. Because the direction of difference in mean scores was opposite to that which was projected, the hypothesis must be rejected.

TABLE 8

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF ROTC CONTRACT
AND NONCONTRACT STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	57	91.14	19.56	2.59	1.64	92	0.104
2**	37	83.89	22.83	3.75			

*Contract Students

**Noncontract Students

However, to determine if the existing difference was significant, albeit in the direction opposite that which was expected, a two-tailed t-test was used to analyze the mean scores. Again referring to Table 8, one can see that the difference was not significant.

Hypothesis 5

H_5 : ROTC students who have signed a contract obligating them to military service and have been in the ROTC program for 2 years or less will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have signed a

contract and have been in the program for more than 2 years.

Contract students who indicated they had taken their first ROTC course in the fall 1983 semester or earlier were deemed to have been in the program for more than two years. Those who indicated their first course was in the spring 1984 semester or later were considered to have been in the program for two years or less. Twenty-four students comprised the more-than-two-year group and 33 students qualified for the group with two years or less in the program.

As Table 9 illustrates, the mean attitude score of the former group was 91.25 and that of the latter group was 91.06. Because the difference in scores was not in the expected direction, Hypothesis 5 must be rejected on this finding alone. Still, to determine if the existing difference was significant, the mean scores were analyzed with a two-tailed t-test. Once again referring to Table 9, one can see that the difference was not significant.

TABLE 9

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF ROTC CONTRACT STUDENTS WITH MORE THAN 2 YRS AND THOSE WITH 2 YRS OR LESS IN THE PROGRAM

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	24	91.25	19.29	3.94	0.04	55	0.972
2**	33	91.06	20.05	3.49			

*Contract Students with more than 2 yrs in the program

**Contract Students with 2 yrs or less in the program

Hypothesis 6

H_6 : Non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are freshmen and sophomores will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who are juniors and seniors.

The 58 freshmen and sophomores in the above-cited groups achieved a mean attitude score of 113.69. The 78 juniors and seniors had a mean of 119.96. As shown in Table 10, this difference was not significant. The hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

TABLE 10

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF FR/SOPH AND JR/SR NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM AND NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	58	113.69	22.26	2.92	-1.45	134	0.078
2**	78	119.96	26.73	3.03			

*Freshmen/Sophomores

**Juniors/Seniors

It was felt that one possible reason no significant difference was found between the upper and lower-level grades was that a mediating effect had been created by combining freshmen with sophomores and juniors with seniors. Put another way, the sophomore and junior attitude scores may have offset the more extreme scores of freshmen and seniors.

To assess this possibility, only the freshmen and senior attitude scores were compared. As Table 11 indicates, there was no significant difference in mean scores here either.

Thus, there was no evidence of a mediating effect created by the combination of groups used in Hypothesis 6.

TABLE 11

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF FRESHMEN AND SENIOR NON-ROTC/
JOURNALISM AND NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	27	117.48	20.79	4.00	-0.58	72	0.283
2**	47	120.91	26.49	3.86			

*Freshmen

**Seniors

Hypothesis 7

H₇: Non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who have a more favorable attitude toward the military than the press will have a significantly less favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have a more favorable attitude toward the press than the military.

The summated-rating scales denoting attitudes toward military and media members provided the basis for testing this hypothesis. These scales were described in Chapter III.

From the non-ROTC/non-Journalism group, 20 members gave higher (more favorable) summated scores to the press than the military. On the other hand, 40 members gave higher scores to the military than the press. The 3 students who gave equal scores to both institutions were not considered in this analysis.

As illustrated in Table 12, those who rated the press higher than the military had a mean attitude score of 119.35,

while those that rated the military higher than the press had a mean of 104.93. This difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$) in the anticipated direction. Hypothesis 7 has been supported.

TABLE 12

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS
MORE FAVORABLE TO THE PRESS AND MORE FAVORABLE
TO THE MILITARY

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	20	119.35	26.83	6.00	2.35	58	0.011
2**	40	104.93	19.89	3.15			

*Those more favorable to the press

**Those more favorable to the military

Hypothesis 8

H_8 : ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about media law will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about media law.

The basis for checking this hypothesis was the ten questions testing respondent knowledge about current media law issues (described in the previous chapter). It was decided that those who correctly answered six or more of the items would be categorized as "knowledgeable," while those answering five or less items correctly would be identified as having "little or no knowledge" in this area. This particular cutoff was selected because of the difficulty of the questions. It was felt that students answering a

majority correctly had to be reasonably well-informed or knowledgeable in this area.

Based on this criteria, there were 94 knowledgeable respondents and 136 students who displayed little or no knowledge. The mean attitude score of the former group was 108.62. The mean for the latter group was 103.24. Table 13 illustrates that this mean was not statistically significant. Therefore, the hypothesis is rejected.

TABLE 13

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF STUDENTS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT
PRESS LAW AND THOSE WITH LITTLE OR NO KNOWLEDGE

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	94	108.62	29.95	3.09	1.46	228	0.072
2**	136	103.24	25.48	2.19			

*Knowledgeable Students

**Students with little or no knowledge

To check for a mediating effect on attitude scores by students who were near the middle in press law knowledge, only the more extreme knowledge scores were analyzed. In this regard, those students who obtained eight or more correct answers (very high scores) were compared with those who got only two or less correct (very low scores). As can be seen in Table 14, however, there was no significant difference in attitudes between these two groups either. Hence, no mediating effect was found to be influencing the outcome of this hypothesis.

TABLE 14

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF STUDENTS WITH VERY HIGH
AND VERY LOW PRESS LAW KNOWLEDGE SCORES

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>1 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	27	117.15	31.82	6.12	1.33	51	0.095
2**	26	106.27	27.56	5.41			

*Students with very high scores

**Students with very low scores

Hypothesis 9

H₉: ROTC, non-ROTC/Journalism, and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students who are knowledgeable about foreign affairs will have a significantly more favorable attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news than those who have little or no knowledge about foreign affairs.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there were five questions pertaining to current foreign affairs events. Respondents evaluated their own level of knowledge about these events. From all answers, a summated-rating scale was formed measuring overall knowledge on foreign affairs. The lowest or least knowledgeable score attainable was 5 and the highest score was 25.

It was decided that respondents who achieved a sum score of 16 or more would be categorized as "knowledgeable" and those scoring 15 or less would be viewed as having "little or no knowledge" in this area. This cutoff was chosen because it conformed well with the 5-point rating scale used for the individual items. Those that averaged 3 points per item ("somewhat knowledgeable") or under were considered less

informed about the foreign affairs items and students averaging more than 3 points were considered to be fairly well informed for purposes of this study.

As mentioned in the last chapter, students identified as likely to have inflated their scores were not considered for analysis in this hypothesis. The two bogus questions noted earlier were used for this purpose.

There were 88 respondents that scored 16 points or more and 132 scoring 15 or less. The mean attitude score of the first group was 105.10, and of the latter it was 106.52 (see Table 15). The direction of difference in mean scores was opposite of that which was expected, so the hypothesis must be rejected. However, a two-tailed t-test was used to analyze the existing difference in the unexpected direction to see if that was significant. It was not.

TABLE 15

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF STUDENTS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THOSE WITH LITTLE OR NO KNOWLEDGE

Group	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE	T Value	Degrees of Freedom	2 Tail Prob.
1*	88	105.10	29.70	3.17	-0.38	218	0.707
2**	132	106.52	25.86	2.25			

*Knowledgeable Students

**Students with little or no knowledge

Again to check for a mediating effect, only the mean attitude scores of students scoring very high and very low on foreign affairs knowledge were compared. Those with a

summated total of 20 or more comprised the former group and those scoring 10 or less comprised the latter. Once more the mean scores were in the direction not expected, as shown in Table 16. A two-tailed t-test uncovered no significance to this difference. Once again, then, no mediating effect was found.

TABLE 16

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF STUDENTS WITH VERY HIGH
AND VERY LOW FOREIGN AFFAIRS KNOWLEDGE SCORES

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.</u>
1*	27	98.15	34.06	6.55	-1.05	45.63	0.298
2**	26	106.50	22.86	4.48			

*Students with very high scores

**Students with very low scores

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Multiple Regression Analysis

As an exploratory venture, it was decided to try to determine reasons for variances in the dependent variable--attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news--among the survey groups. It was felt that the best way to perform this task would be through the use of multiple regression analysis.

This is a parametric tool used to analyze the relationship between two or more independent variables and a single dependent variable. According to Wimmer and Dominick: "The primary goal of multiple regression is to develop a formula that accounts for, or explains, as much variance in the dependent variable as possible."¹

Though there was no method for determining which independent variables accounted specifically for intergroup differences in attitudes, multiple regression analysis provided a hint. Procedurally, this was done by consolidating two groups and analyzing them as one unit. By

¹Wimmer, Mass Media Research, p. 221.

combining and analyzing, for example, ROTC and non-ROTC/Journalism respondents, any variables found to account for the variance in attitudes actually accounted for both intergroup and intragroup variances. This was felt to be the most adequate method for helping to determine possible causes of group differences in the dependent variable.

Once again the SPSS^X computer program was used for the analysis. Specifically, a stepwise regression method was employed. Kerlinger explains this procedure:

The computer first selects the independent variable . . . that has the highest correlation [R] with the dependent variable. . . . It then selects the variable . . . that, after the first variable, will contribute most to the variance. . . . It then stops to evaluate what it has done. That is, it examines the contribution the first variable would have made had it been entered second. If this contribution turns out not to be statistically significant, the variable is dropped. The process is continued until a statistical test of significance strikes a variable, . . . that does not contribute significantly to R^2 [the variation in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables].²

The following variables were analyzed in the regression equation: sex, total credit hours, prior military service, military friends/relatives, political ideology, attitude toward members of the military, attitude toward members of the press, and press law knowledge. This list included several variables tested in the hypotheses, as well as several that were felt to be possible intervening variables.

First, ROTC and non-ROTC/Journalism respondents were pooled and analyzed. The variables of political ideology,

²Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, p. 654.

attitudes toward press and military members, total credit hours, and prior military service were found to contribute significantly to variations in the dependent variable. Table 17 indicates that the total amount of variance explained by these variables was approximately .58 or 58%. The remainder of the variables failed to meet the .05 significance level.

TABLE 17

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF ROTC AND
NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM STUDENT ATTITUDES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Sig T</u>
Political Ideology	.590	.348	5.28	0.000
Attitude Toward Press	.682	.466	6.76	0.000
Attitude Toward Military	.746	.557	-5.40	0.000
Total Credit Hours	.755	.570	2.33	0.021
Prior Military Service	.763	.582	2.21	0.028

Next, the attitudes of ROTC and non-ROTC/non-Journalism respondents were analyzed. As can be seen in Table 18, political ideology, attitudes toward military and press members, military friends/relatives, and sex were significant contributors ($p < .05$) to the variation in attitudes toward press freedom within and among these two sample groups. In total, these five variables accounted for a little more than 57% of the variance in the dependent variable.

Finally, non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism student attitudes were analyzed. As Table 19 illustrates, significant contributors ($p < .05$) to variations in attitude among members of these groups were political ideology and attitudes toward press and military members. These three

variables explained nearly 44% of the variance in the dependent variable.

TABLE 18

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF ROTC AND NON-ROTC/
NON-JOURNALISM STUDENT ATTITUDES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Sig T</u>
Political Ideology	.591	.349	6.85	0.000
Attitude Toward Military	.663	.440	-5.12	0.000
Attitude Toward Press	.716	.513	4.72	0.000
Mil. Friends/Relatives	.744	.553	3.74	0.000
Sex	.757	.573	2.63	0.009

TABLE 19

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM
AND NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENT ATTITUDES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Sig T</u>
Political Ideology	.619	.383	7.58	0.000
Attitude Toward Press	.644	.414	3.31	0.012
Attitude Toward Military	.661	.437	-2.33	0.021

In summary, these three multiple regression runs indicated that the variables of political ideology, attitude toward the military, and attitude toward the press contributed most to explaining variance in the dependent variable. Further, it can be seen from Tables 17-19 that attitude toward the military was the only variable inversely related to attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news. That is, as attitudes toward military members became more favorable, attitudes toward press freedom in covering the military became less so.

Further Analysis of the Dependent Variable

An interesting finding in this study was that overall the three sample groups were relatively conservative in their attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. As previously mentioned, the central score on this attitude scale was 120. The mean scores of the sample groups were 88.29 for ROTC, 123.19 for non-ROTC/Journalism, and 110.44 for non-ROTC/non-Journalism students.

There are three possible explanations for the conservative scores. First, several individual statements in the scale were designed so that only those with almost an absolutist view of the First Amendment would respond favorably. Therefore, few such responses were expected and received. Second, the student groups were found to be quite conservative in general. Indeed, the most liberal mean score on the political ideology scale was 68.41 for non-ROTC/Journalism students. That score was almost exactly the mid or neutral score of 68. Finally, the military was given a more favorable rating than the press on the scale measuring attitudes toward members of these two institutions. This finding will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Still, while mean scores are indicative of how attitudes of the three groups compared with each other and the central position on the scale, they give little additional information. An analysis of responses to individual items can give a more meaningful insight into the amount and types

of press freedom each group supported. Analysis of individual items can also show where the groups agreed and differed on specific issues concerning press coverage.

This salient information was compiled and is provided at Appendix E. The appendix contains all 30 items of Section III of the questionnaire, plus a breakdown of group responses to each item. Additionally, the 7-point scale used in the questionnaire is consolidated into three categories--Agree (A), Undecided (U), and Disagree (D)--in the appendix to facilitate reading and interpretation. A brief overview of some general findings of this analysis is presented here.

There were numerous items on which a majority consensus existed, both within and among the survey groups. For the general statements, most felt that many reporters today would publish information harmful to U.S. wartime interests if there was a "good story" involved. Students also felt that the national interest should have priority over a free press during wartime, and reporters should not release information that could jeopardize troop safety or mission security.

On scenario-based items, a majority in each group felt the press should have the right to do the following: accompany military forces on an invasion; interview an enemy unit; publish information about U.S. casualties and battle defeats, troop morale, and civilian casualties; and criticize military leaders.

However, students also supported several limitations to press freedom. For example, most agreed that reporters

accompanying invading U.S. forces should not be briefed on the situation until the invasion is launched; but if they are briefed beforehand, they should be sequestered. It was also felt that a reporter should not have the right to report news of an impending invasion if he does not agree with the action; a reporter should be obligated to inform U.S. forces if he learns of an impending enemy attack; and a reporter should not be able to publish information concerning the location and identification of friendly units.

On many of the questions there was much disagreement within and/or among the groups. On these items non-ROTC/Journalism students usually were the most favorable to press freedom and ROTC students the most unfavorable.

There were several general issues on which a large split existed. Among these were whether: the government was justified in keeping the press out of Grenada; reporters are a threat to military operations; military news releases should be used in lieu of press coverage; the reporter or military officials should censor news stories; the press should publish information that could erode public support for the war cause; and the press should be completely independent and impartial in its war reporting.

On the situation-specific items much disagreement was also noted in several areas. These included whether: a reporter should be obligated to give tactical information about the enemy to U.S. forces; military officials would report the war truthfully if reporters were not along; the

public should be informed of strengths and weaknesses of U.S. military units; and a reporter should publish a false news story at a commander's request in order to help deceive the enemy.

The analysis of individual items also indicated that most respondents read the questions and provided thoughtful answers. Partly this was ensured through the use of both favorable and unfavorable statements. If respondents tended to check one certain response on every item, it would have been discernible. Also, two similar items (see statements 13 and 23, Appendix E) yielded consistent results. This provided a further check on the reliability and validity of the findings.

Ratings of Military and Press Members

Both the findings of Hypothesis 7 and the multiple regression analysis revealed a significant relationship between attitudes toward military and press members and attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. Because of this relationship, a further look at military and press ratings is warranted.

Overall, military members received the more favorable score with a mean of 30.15. The press received an overall rating of 37.04. As mentioned in Chapter III, the mid or neutral score on the favorableness scale was 44. Although scores for both subjects were on the positive side of the scale, the rating of military members was significantly more

favorable ($p < .05$) than that of the press.

How these two groups fared in the ratings can be better understood by looking at the results from a different perspective. In total, 59 respondents gave a better score to the press and 162 gave a better one to the military. By survey group, ROTC members rated the military over the press in 90 instances and gave the press a better score 4 times. Among non-ROTC/Journalism students, 35 were more favorable to the press while 32 favored the military. Finally, the non-ROTC/non-Journalism group rated military members better 40 times and the press better in 20 cases. A total of 9 respondents gave equal scores to members of both institutions.

The more favorable scores achieved by the military seem to help explain why attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news were somewhat conservative, in general. As mentioned previously, prior research has indicated that support for the press and government seem to be negatively related. This notion was reinforced by the data of this study. In essence, if attitudes toward press members are more unfavorable than attitudes toward the military (which they were), one would expect less support for the watchdog role of the press in this area (which there seemed to be).

Information about how students rated specific qualities of military and press members is provided at Appendix F. The appendix contains the bipolar adjectives used in Section IV

of the questionnaire, plus responses from each sample group. Instead of using the full 7-point semantic-differential scale, however, responses were consolidated into three categories--those selecting each bipolar adjective as the better descriptor, and those choosing the neutral response. Although data is presented in detail at the appendix, the general findings are outlined next.

A majority in each group gave military members a favorable rating in all qualities but two. Soldiers were generally perceived as trustworthy, strong, intelligent, essential, good, patriotic, courageous, responsible, and competent. However, they were also viewed by many in the non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism groups as uncompassionate and biased.

The results were more mixed for members of the press, as one might expect by their lower overall rating. They were perceived by a majority in all three groups to be intelligent, essential, courageous, and competent. Although not decisively by all groups, they were also seen as strong and good. However, much dissension was found to exist over the qualities of trustworthiness, patriotism, responsibility, and compassion. Finally, press members were regarded as biased by a majority in all groups.

Summary and Discussion of Findings

It is now appropriate to review and expound on the expectations and major findings of this study. First, as

predicted in Hypothesis 1, it was found that the more politically liberal respondents were more favorable to press freedom than their conservative counterparts. The t-test and multiple regression analysis both yielded results indicative of this. This finding is in keeping with the studies cited earlier, which indicated that support for civil liberties tends to be more associated with the liberal members of our society.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 rank-ordered the sample groups in terms of their anticipated attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. The projected sequence was in fact borne out by the findings.

In this regard, ROTC students were found to possess the most unfavorable attitude. The two reasons for expecting this, given in Chapter II, seemed indeed to play a part. First, ROTC students did appear very sensitive to the need for military security. Their response to several items on the questionnaire attested to this. For example, more than 75% of this group felt that "war correspondents are a threat to the security of military operations." Likewise, over 85% agreed with the scenario-based statement: "If reporters accompany the military, they should not be briefed on the situation, for security reasons, until the invasion has begun."

Second, there was also evidence that ROTC students were more conservative in general than their non-ROTC counterparts. The ROTC mean on the political ideology scale

was 59.55, well under the mid score of 68. Non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism scores were 68.41 and 64.70, respectively. The ROTC score was significantly lower ($p < .05$) than those of the other groups.

It was also found, as expected, that non-ROTC/Journalism students were the most favorable toward press freedom in reporting military news. Yet, of the two reasons given for projecting this, only one appeared to be corroborated by the data.

The first reason for expecting this result was that the nature of their academic training should make these students more staunch supporters of the First Amendment. However, a look at individual questions revealed that while this group was comparatively the most supportive of press freedom in most instances, the support was frequently not statistically overwhelming. For example, non-ROTC/Journalism students had the highest proportion of disagreement (34%) with the statement: "Censorship of the press is necessary and justified during wartime." Yet, a larger portion of this group--nearly 48%--agreed with the statement.

There was another finding that makes one question whether academic training influenced non-ROTC/Journalism student attitudes. That was the low scores attained by this group on the press law knowledge scale. The group's mean of 5.03, on a scale of 10, was not significantly higher than the scores of the ROTC (4.82) and the non-ROTC/non-Journalism (4.97) groups.

The second reason for expecting this group to reflect the most favorable attitude was supported by the data. Non-ROTC/Journalism students were found to be the most liberal of the three groups, in general. Their mean score of 68.41 on the political ideology scale was significantly higher ($p < .05$) than the scores of the other groups.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 were designed to take a more in-depth look at the ROTC group. The ultimate goal was to gain an insight into whether self-selection or socialization best explained any difference in attitudes between ROTC and non-ROTC students. In Hypothesis 4 no significant difference was found in the press freedom attitudes of ROTC contract and noncontract students. It was originally expected that noncontract students would exhibit a more favorable attitude. As a further check, these two ROTC groups were also found not to differ significantly in political ideology. Contract students had an average score of 60.37, while noncontract students had a mean of 58.30.

Hypothesis 5 also failed to gain support from the data. There was no significant difference in the press freedom attitudes of contract students who had been in the ROTC program for two years or less and those who had been in the program for more than two years. Again, the political ideology scale provided a check; and again the two groups reflected no significant difference in mean scores. Those enrolled for two years or less scored 60.82, and those enrolled for more than two years scored 59.75.

In sum, the findings for these two hypotheses were in contravention to what one would expect if there was a socializing effect in ROTC. The self-selection theory appeared to be supported by the findings here. Perhaps students entering the ROTC program generally tend to reflect conservative attitudes. Military training and its emphasis on security may merely reinforce conservative attitudes about the press and serve as a legitimate and normal conduit for operationalizing these attitudes.

Hypothesis 6 predicted non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism students would become more liberal in their attitudes on press freedom in reporting military news each successive year of school. This liberalizing theory was not supported by the findings.

Once more the political ideology scale was used as a check on the results. This, too, revealed no evidence of any liberalization. The freshman and sophomore mean was 65.90, while the junior and senior mean was 67.28. This difference was not statistically significant.

Next, the results of Hypothesis 7 revealed that the attitudes of non-ROTC/non-Journalism students toward members of the military and press were related to their support for press freedom in covering the military. Those that rated military members more favorably than the press were found to have a more unfavorable attitude about press freedom in this area than those who favored the press over the military. The multiple regression runs also revealed that attitudes toward

military and press members were significant in accounting for variance in the dependent variable.

Finally, data gathered for Hypotheses 8 and 9 indicated that neither knowledge of media law nor knowledge about foreign affairs was significantly related to attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. In effect, those who were more well-informed about press law issues and foreign affairs news were not found to be more supportive of this aspect of press freedom. The multiple regression runs also failed to find these two variables as significant in accounting for variance in the dependent variable.

Limitations of the Study

As in most research efforts, there were several shortcomings to this study. First was the relatively small number of respondents, especially in the non-ROTC/Journalism and non-ROTC/non-Journalism categories. The group sizes caused greater margins for error than is ideally desired in survey research. Subsequently, on dichotomous items (e.g., agree-disagree) where the split in responses was near the 50%-50% mark, the results should be interpreted with caution.

Time and financial limitations were at least partially responsible for not achieving higher response rates. To maximize the number of returns, it would have been desirable to use a second follow-up letter and, if necessary, to contact nonrespondents by telephone. Unfortunately, circumstances did not permit these additional measures.

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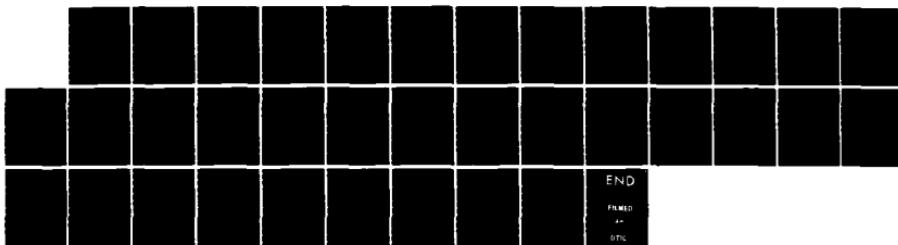
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF SELECTED
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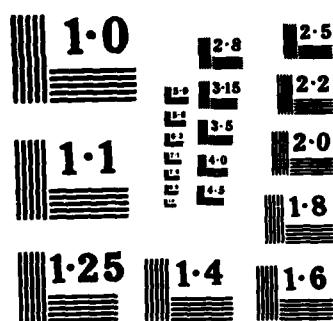


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The length of the questionnaire also may have adversely affected the response rate. Although a double-sided format was used to reduce the total number of pages and give the questionnaire a shorter appearance, the survey required approximately 25 minutes to complete. Potential respondents who had little interest in the subject matter may have elected not to complete and return the questionnaire because of the time required.

It is necessary to give one final word of caution regarding interpretation of the survey results. By definition, the non-ROTC/Journalism group consisted of all students with a major in Journalism and Mass Communication. However, students with this major could have been in a variety of professionally oriented programs, such as news communication, advertising, public relations, professional writing, and radio-television-film.³

Because no attempt was made to further subdivide this group, it should be understood that not all students categorized here were preparing to become print or broadcast reporters. In fact, different attitudes may have been characteristic of students in the various programs. Such a possibility was not explored in the current study, but might be an appropriate consideration in the future.

³The University of Oklahoma General Catalog 1984-86 (Norman, Oklahoma: University Printing Services, 1984), p. 129.

Recommendations for Future Research

As discussed earlier, there has been only sporadic effort devoted to gauging the public's attitude toward press freedom in reporting military news during wartime. This study, therefore, was very exploratory in nature and general in scope. It was decided to research college student attitudes on this matter because today they are an influential segment of the American public, and tomorrow they will compose this country's leadership. Numerous variables were checked among three different groups of students to try and obtain a better understanding of what their attitudes were and, just as importantly, why they held these attitudes.

The importance of this study is not so much in its findings, but with the foundation it lays for the pursuance of future research. For example, although there was no evidence of a socializing effect among ROTC students or a liberalizing effect among the rest of the university population, these possibilities cannot be discounted. Perhaps the best way to end speculation is to conduct a longitudinal study of appropriate student groups. It is an expensive and timely endeavor; yet it would provide the most reliable information concerning the impact of the university and ROTC environments on students.

An excellent longitudinal study might include the simultaneous analysis of ROTC and Journalism students. Author Peter Braestrup recently discussed at length the "culture gap" that exists between journalists and soldiers.

He summed it up this way:

The military culture, with its accent on conformity, control, discipline, accountability, group loyalty, and cohesion, finds itself in wartime up against a group that is individualistic, competitive, word-conscious, impatient, lacking internal 'rules' or 'standards,' varied in its needs, suspicious of authority, and hard-pressed, by deadlines and the need to obtain good film or definitive information on short notice to satisfy the home office.⁴

Braestrup identifies the culture gap as a major contributor to the schism that currently exists between military officers and journalists. A longitudinal study of these two groups at the pre-professional or college level could gather much valuable information which perhaps could be used to bridge this gap.

Findings of the current study also indicated that two areas of sophistication or knowledge were not related to support for press freedom. Instead, the more emotional variables of political ideology and attitudes toward press and military members were found to be important. Although the relationship of knowledge variables and press freedom attitudes deserves further research, more effort should also be devoted to analyzing subjective variables, such as those found to be significant in this study.

For example, a recent ASNE report cited the relationship between credibility of the press and support for press rights.⁵ In the context of the current study, specific

⁴Braestrup, "Background Paper," p. 141.

⁵Newspaper Credibility: Building Reader Trust

problems in perception could possibly be identified among military and ROTC members. Appropriate press and military officials would then be able to address these weaknesses through joint and separate efforts. This could lead to greater support of the press and increased cooperation from the military.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this research effort has been the development of survey items that can be used to measure public attitudes toward press freedom in reporting military news. Ultimately, these items could be used to "track" attitudes of various groups within the public. Additional research will be required, however, to streamline the current list of 30 items and select those which will cover all salient issues involved in press coverage of the military.

In summary, it is hoped the current study will prompt greater interest and more research on press coverage of U.S. combat forces. By learning more about how current and future leaders in all fields of endeavor feel about this issue, an agenda can be set and most of the past problems hopefully resolved.

(Washington, D.C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, [1985]), p. 9.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY OF OU STUDENTS CONCERNING PRESS COVERAGE OF THE MILITARY

This questionnaire is designed to obtain your opinion on issues concerning American press coverage of the U.S. military. Each of the following sections relates to this purpose.

Your identity will remain anonymous. Responses to survey items will be used only to help determine the attitudes of OU students in general.

Please note that the term "press" refers to members of both the print and broadcast media, to include television, radio, newspaper, and magazine. Also, the term "reporter" includes both print and broadcast reporters.

NOTE: The numbered blanks along the right side of each page are for statistical purposes. Please do no write in these spaces.¹

SECTION I

Following are some statements concerning important political and social issues. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number. The numbers represent levels of agreement and disagreement as indicated by the following scale:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Undecided
1	2	3	4
5	6	7	Strongly Disagree

1. Our free enterprise system gives everyone an opportunity to get ahead. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. Strong affirmative action measures are needed to ensure minority representation in the workplace. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. American economic exploitation has contributed to Third World poverty. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. Most people on welfare would rather live off others than work. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5. A woman should have the right to decide for herself whether to have an abortion. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6. In view of the dangerous world situation, the U.S. should increase its military strength even more. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. If some students at a college want to form a "Campus Nazi Club," college officials should permit them to do so. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

¹The numbered blanks are omitted from the questionnaire in this appendix.

8. Government regulation of business is necessary to keep industry from becoming too powerful. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Homosexuals should not be permitted to teach in public schools. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. The main goal of U.S. foreign policy has been to protect American business interests. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Our government should see to it that everyone has a job and a decent standard of living. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Prayer should be permitted in public schools. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. The CIA should be permitted to undermine hostile governments when necessary to protect U.S. interests. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Foreigners who dislike our government and criticize it should not be allowed to visit or study here. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. The U.S. should not sell arms to any country. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Books that show terrorists how to build bombs should be banned from public libraries. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. In dealing with criminals it is more important to punish them for their crimes than try to rehabilitate them for the wrongs they've done. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SECTION II

Following are a variety of local, national, and international issues that have been in the news in recent months. Please indicate how much you feel you know about each issue by circling the appropriate number. The numbers represent levels of knowledge as indicated by the following scale:

no knowledge	slightly knowledgeable	somewhat knowledgeable	quite knowledgeable	extremely knowledgeable
1	2	3	4	5

1. The growing U.S. foreign trade deficit. 1 2 3 4 5

2. President Reagan's proposed tax reform plan. 1 2 3 4 5

3. Congressional approval of military aid to Syria. 1 2 3 4 5

4. The closing of Oklahoma banks/savings and loans. 1 2 3 4 5

5. Planned summit between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.	1 2 3 4 5
6. U.S. spy scandal involving the Walker family.	1 2 3 4 5
7. The plan to redesign and redistribute the Susan B. Anthony dollar.	1 2 3 4 5
8. Reagan administration efforts to change existing abortion laws.	1 2 3 4 5
9. Alleged Soviet use of a chemical "spy dust" on U.S. embassy personnel in Russia.	1 2 3 4 5
10. U.S. government assistance to the Nicaraguan anti-government rebels.	1 2 3 4 5
11. The selection of a new president for the University of Oklahoma.	1 2 3 4 5
12. Social upheaval in South Africa because of apartheid.	1 2 3 4 5

SECTION III

The following statements concern press coverage of the U.S. military during a wartime or combat environment. Please read each statement carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate number. The numbers represent Levels of agreement and disagreement as indicated by the following scale:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. The American government was justified in keeping the press out of Grenada.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. During and prior to World War II the press was on the side of the U.S. military more than it has been since that time.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. War correspondents are a threat to the security of military operations.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. The U.S. was better off, not worse off, for having full and complete coverage of the Vietnam war through the press.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Instead of allowing the press to cover war, military officials should provide news releases to the press detailing exactly what is happening. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Reporters should not publish information that could jeopardize troop safety, mission security, or otherwise be of military use to the enemy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. The press should not publish information that could erode public support for the war cause. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Censorship of the press is necessary and justified during wartime. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. The national interest takes precedent over a free press during wartime. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Press coverage of the U.S. military during war has been too negative and antagonistic. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Most reporters today would publish information that is harmful to U.S. wartime interests if the information would make a good story. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. The press should be completely independent and impartial in its reporting of U.S. forces in combat. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Overall, it is better to have each reporter responsible for reviewing his own stories to ensure military security is not breached, than to have military officials perform this function. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The next 3 statements pertain to the following situation. Please consider only the facts that are provided: During wartime an American reporter visits an enemy unit to get "their side of the story" so he can report it to the American people.

14. The reporter should have the right to do this. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. The reporter should not be obligated to give tactical information about the enemy--e.g., location and size of the unit, type of weapons --to U.S. military officials. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. If the reporter discovered from the enemy that it was going to attack U.S. forces at a certain place and time, the reporter should not be obligated to give this information to U.S. military officials. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The remaining statements pertain to the following situation. Please consider only the facts that are provided.

PART I: A radical group has overthrown the democratic government of Diego in a bloody coup. The new leaders have promised to kill all citizens who speak out against them and they are following through on this threat. They have also declared that they will "eliminate all American imperialists" in their country. Nearly 150 workers at a U.S. oil refinery in the capital city fear they will be killed and have barricaded themselves in the refinery. The U.S. President believes their lives are at stake and has ordered the military to launch an invasion to rescue the U.S. citizens and restore order in the nation.

17. The policy governing press access to the operation should be delegated by the President to the military commander in charge of the mission.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. A small number of reporters should be allowed to accompany the military to report what happens.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. If the press is not permitted to accompany the military, military officials would report news about the invasion truthfully and accurately.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. If reporters accompany the military, they should not be briefed on the situation, for security reasons, until the invasion has begun.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. If reporters accompanying the military are briefed several hours before the invasion, they should be sequestered to ensure no reporter leaks the story.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. If a reporter privy to the invasion feels strongly that the military action is unwarranted or morally wrong, he should have the right to inform the U.S. public about the invasion before it is launched.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

PART II: The invasion has been launched and a group of reporters has accompanied U.S. troops. Unexpectedly, two neighboring nations have sent highly trained forces to help fight the Americans in Diego. No one can predict just how long the fighting will last.

23. Military officials should censor all news to ensure no breach of security occurs.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. The American public should be informed about U.S. casualties and battle defeats.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

25. Stories concerning the general state of morale among U.S. soldiers should not be published.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26. The public should be informed of the strengths and weaknesses of American military units on the battlefield. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

27. Stories about civilian casualties should not be published. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

28. Stories containing information about the location and identification of U.S. military units should not be published. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29. The press should be allowed to criticize military leaders. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

30. If the senior military commander asks a reporter to help deceive the enemy by publishing a news story containing false information, the reporter should do so. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SECTION IV

Following are several sets of adjectives that could be used to describe members of the military. Each set consists of words with opposite meanings separated by the numbers 1 thru 7. The numbers represent the degree to which you feel one of the two adjectives describes members of the military. Using the following scale as a guide, circle the number that best expresses your opinion. (For example, if you feel the adjective on the right "slightly describes" members of the military, circle number 5.)

very closely describes	generally describes	slightly describes	neutral	slightly describes	generally describes	closely describes	very closely describes
adj	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
							adj

Members of the U.S. Military

trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	weak
intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
essential	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonessential
good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	bad
patriotic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unpatriotic
biased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unbiased

100

courageous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cowardly
responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	irresponsible
competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	incompetent
compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uncompassionate

Following are several sets of adjectives that could be used to describe members of the press. Again, each set consists of words with opposite meanings separated by the numbers 1 thru 7. As you did above, use the following scale as a guide and circle the number that best expresses your opinion.

adj	very closely describes	generally describes	slightly describes	neutral	slightly describes	generally describes	closely describes	very closely describes	adj
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

Members of the U.S. Press

trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	weak
intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
essential	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonessential
good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	bad
patriotic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unpatriotic
biased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unbiased
courageous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cowardly
responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	irresponsible
competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	incompetent
compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uncompassionate

SECTION V

Following is a series of statements concerning press law. Please check the response that you believe correctly completes the sentence. If you are unsure which answer is correct, check the "unsure" response.

1. Jailing reporters who refuse to reveal their news sources during a trial:

- (1) _____ is illegal because of our national "shield law"
- (2) _____ is permitted when the names of sources are necessary for a fair trial and the information can not be obtained in any other way
- (3) _____ is permitted only if the information is vital to national security
- (4) _____ unsure

2. The Constitutional amendment that affirms the right to a free press is the:

- (1) _____ First Amendment
- (2) _____ Fourth Amendment
- (3) _____ Fifth Amendment
- (4) _____ unsure

3. Courts have generally held that:

- (1) _____ the press has no more rights than the ordinary citizen in access to governmental information
- (2) _____ by Constitutional amendment the press has more rights than the average citizen in access to governmental information
- (3) _____ the press has greater access to information concerning the judicial and legislative branches of government than it does the executive branch
- (4) _____ unsure

4. Legally, is a newspaper required to accept a paid advertisement from a private business or group?

- (1) yes
- (2) yes, as long as the advertisement is not obscene and the purchaser is willing to pay for the space prior to publication
- (3) no
- (4) unsure

5. Generally, newspapers and magazines can print anything they want about a public official (e.g., the President):

- (1) even if they know it is not true
- (2) as long as they believe it to be fair and accurate
- (3) as long as they provide equal space for rebuttal or opposing views
- (4) unsure

6. Can the press publish classified government information, even if disclosure could jeopardize national security?

- (1) yes, as long as the press does so in good faith that the public has a right to know
- (2) no
- (3) this issue has not yet been resolved by the courts
- (4) unsure

7. Private information about an individual:

- (1) cannot be published or broadcast by the media because of our Constitutional "right to privacy"
- (2) can be published or broadcast if it is newsworthy and the information is accurate
- (3) can be published or broadcast only with the individual's consent
- (4) unsure

8. Under American law at present:

- (1) books can no longer be banned on the grounds that they are obscene
- (2) books that promote lewd and lascivious thoughts are illegal
- (3) local communities have the power to ban obscene books that do not meet community standards
- (4) unsure

9. According to the Bill of Rights:

- (1) Congress is prohibited from making any laws restricting a free press
- (2) only the President, by way of Executive Order, can restrict press freedom in certain well-defined instances
- (3) press freedom can be restricted when properly legislated by Congress
- (4) unsure

10. The "fairness doctrine" of the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) was intended to make sure that:

- (1) radio and television refrain from making editorial comments about political candidates and controversial issues
- (2) newspapers present both sides of controversial political and social issues
- (3) both sides of controversial political and social issues be heard on radio and television
- (4) unsure

SECTION VI

1. Sex (1) Male (2) Female

2. What is your age? _____

3. How many credit hours of coursework are you taking this semester?

(1) 1-11 hours (2) 12 or more hours

4. How many semester hours have you completed toward your degree (transfer students, do not include hours for which you did not receive credit by the University of Oklahoma)?

(1) 0 - 29 hours (3) 60 - 89 hours
(2) 30 - 59 hours (4) 90 or more hours

5. Have you ever served in the military, either on active duty or in the National Guard/reserves (do not include here active duty associated with ROTC)?

(1) Yes (2) No

6. Do you have any relatives or friends who have served or are currently serving in the military?

(1) Yes (2) No

7. Are you currently enrolled in any ROTC courses?

(1) Yes (if yes, please complete the remaining questions)
(2) No (if no, you have finished this questionnaire)

8. In what semester did you take your first ROTC course? If appropriate, indicate the summer you attended basic camp (Army), summer cruise (Navy and Marines), or field training (Air Force) in lieu of freshman and/or sophomore level ROTC coursework.

(01) Fall 1982 (05) Spring 1984 (09) Summer 1985
(02) Spring 1983 (06) Summer 1984 (10) Fall 1985
(03) Summer 1983 (07) Fall 1984 (11) Other (Please give year and month)
(04) Fall 1983 (08) Spring 1985

9. Have you signed a contract obligating you after graduation to a period of military service, either in the reserves, National Guard, or on active duty?

(1) Yes (2) No

(END OF QUESTIONNAIRE)

APPENDIX B
COVER LETTER TO QUESTIONNAIRE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
H.H. HERBERT SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
AND MASS COMMUNICATION
860 Van Vleet Oval, Room 101
Norman, Oklahoma 73019

September 12, 1985

Dear Fellow Student,

I need your help!

I am a graduate student in OU's School of Journalism and Mass Communication. As part of my graduate studies, I am researching student attitudes about American press coverage of the U.S. military.

Specifically, I am trying to determine the attitudes of three groups of students at OU: ROTC students, students with a major in Journalism and Mass Communication, and students not included in the former two categories. Your name was selected at random to participate in this study.

You will really help me on this project by completing the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope. Your identity will remain anonymous. Responses to survey items will be used only to determine the attitudes of OU students in general.

The questionnaire should require 20-30 minutes to complete. I realize that like most students you have a busy schedule, but I truly need your response to make this study a success.

I sincerely appreciate your assistance and contribution to this research. Your participation will add immeasurably to its validity and value.

If you are interested in the findings, my thesis should be on file in Bizzell Library by this spring semester.

Sincerely,

William E. Benner, Jr.

P.S. Due to my time constraints on this project, it would be extremely helpful if completed questionnaires could be returned by September 27.

APPENDIX C
FOLLOW-UP LETTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
H. H. HERBERT SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
AND MASS COMMUNICATION
860 Van Vleet Oval, Room 101
Norman, Oklahoma 73019

September 27, 1985

Dear Fellow Student,

I recently sent you a questionnaire concerning American press coverage of the U.S. military. As I mentioned in the accompanying letter, I am researching OU student attitudes on this sensitive and important issue.

As an Army officer and graduate student in Journalism, I am concerned about the need to balance press freedom with military security. I am trying to obtain student attitudes on this subject for two reasons. First, we represent a powerful voice in this country's governmental activities. Second, as tomorrow's leaders we will directly influence the policies of this country, to include those which affect both the military and the press.

If you have completed and returned the questionnaire, I would like to thank you for your time and participation in this study. Your contribution will significantly enhance the validity of the findings and overall value of my research project.

If you have not yet had an opportunity to respond, I would be grateful if you could do so as soon as possible. Questionnaires returned by October 7 will help ensure my thesis is completed on schedule. I must reiterate that your response is critical to the success of this study.

Again, I appreciate your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

William E. Benner, Jr.

APPENDIX D
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF MALES AND FEMALES
FROM EACH SURVEY GROUP

TABLE 20

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE ROTC STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.*</u>
1**	82	87.15	21.22	2.34	-1.38	92	0.172
2***	12	96.08	19.18	5.54			

*No directional differences had been predicted.

**Males

***Females

TABLE 21

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE
NON-ROTC/JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.*</u>
1**	27	118.00	26.01	5.01	-1.36	71	0.179
2***	46	126.24	24.48	3.61			

*No directional differences had been predicted.

**Males

***Females

TABLE 22

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE
NON-ROTC/NON-JOURNALISM STUDENTS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T Value</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>2 Tail Prob.*</u>
1**	28	104.57	20.55	3.88	-1.83	61	0.072
2***	35	115.14	24.39	4.12			

*No directional differences had been predicted.

**Males

***Females

APPENDIX E
SURVEY GROUP RESPONSES TO INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

1. The American government was justified in keeping the press out of Grenada.

	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
ROTC	89.4%	3.2%	7.4%
NR/J ¹	38.4	20.5	41.1
NR/NJ ²	54.0	22.2	23.8

2. During and prior to World War II the press was on the side of the U.S. military more than it has been since that time.

ROTC	85.1	12.8	2.1
NR/J	69.9	23.3	6.8
NR/NJ	65.1	27.0	7.9

3. War correspondents are a threat to the security of military operations.

ROTC	75.5	9.6	14.9
NR/J	24.7	17.8	57.5
NR/NJ	49.2	17.5	33.3

4. The U.S. was better off, not worse off, for having full and complete coverage of the Vietnam war through the press.

ROTC	20.2	18.1	61.7
NR/J	53.4	16.4	30.1
NR/NJ	44.4	12.7	42.9

5. Instead of allowing the press to cover war, military officials should provide news releases to the press detailing exactly what is happening.

ROTC	51.1	9.6	39.4
NR/J	15.1	5.5	79.5
NR/NJ	23.8	1.6	74.6

6. Reporters should not publish information that could jeopardize troop safety, mission security, or otherwise be of military use to the enemy.

ROTC	100	--	--
NR/J	94.5	1.4	4.1
NR/NJ	93.7	--	6.3

¹Non-ROTC/Journalism students

²Non-ROTC/non-Journalism students

	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
7. The press should not publish information that could erode public support for the war cause.			
ROTC	66.0%	10.6%	23.4%
NR/J	37.0	16.4	46.6
NR/NJ	33.3	19.0	47.6
8. Censorship of the press is necessary and justified during wartime.			
ROTC	81.9	4.3	13.8
NR/J	47.9	17.8	34.2
NR/NJ	55.6	15.9	28.6
9. The national interest takes precedent over a free press during wartime.			
ROTC	90.4	2.1	7.4
NR/J	61.6	17.8	20.5
NR/NJ	68.3	15.9	15.9
10. Press coverage of the U.S. military during war has been too negative and antagonistic.			
ROTC	66.0	23.4	10.6
NR/J	26.0	30.1	43.8
NR/NJ	47.6	25.4	27.0
11. Most reporters today would publish information that is harmful to U.S. wartime interests if the information would make a good story.			
ROTC	89.4	3.2	7.4
NR/J	56.2	4.1	39.7
NR/NJ	71.4	15.9	12.7
12. The press should be completely independent and impartial in its reporting of U.S. forces in combat.			
ROTC	46.8	9.6	43.6
NR/J	47.9	32.9	19.2
NR/NJ	49.2	27.0	23.8
13. Overall, it is better to have each reporter responsible for reviewing his own stories to ensure military security is not breached, than to have military officials perform this function.			
ROTC	16.0	7.4	76.6
NR/J	46.6	21.9	31.5
NR/NJ	28.6	19.0	52.4

The next 3 statements pertain to the following situation. Please consider only the facts that are provided: During wartime an American reporter visits an enemy unit to get "their side of the story" so he can report it to the American people.

14. The reporter should have the right to do this.

	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
ROTC	66.0%	8.5%	25.5%
NR/J	83.6	5.5	11.0
NR/NJ	81.0	9.5	9.5

15. The reporter should not be obligated to give tactical information about the enemy--e.g., location and size of the unit, type of weapons --to U.S. military officials.

ROTC	31.9	11.7	56.4
NR/J	56.2	9.6	34.2
NR/NJ	44.4	4.8	50.8

16. If the reporter discovered from the enemy that it was going to attack U.S. forces at a certain place and time, the reporter should not be obligated to give this information to U.S. military officials.

ROTC	8.5	8.5	83.0
NR/J	11.0	13.7	75.3
NR/NJ	14.3	6.3	79.4

The remaining statements pertain to the following situation. Please consider only the facts that are provided.

PART I: A radical group has overthrown the democratic government of Diego in a bloody coup. The new leaders have promised to kill all citizens who speak out against them and they are following through on this threat. They have also declared that they will "eliminate all American imperialists" in their country. Nearly 150 workers at a U.S. oil refinery in the capital city fear they will be killed and have barricaded themselves in the refinery. The U.S. President believes their lives are at stake and has ordered the military to launch an invasion to rescue the U.S. citizens and restore order in the nation.

17. The policy governing press access to the operation should be delegated by the President to the military commander in charge of the mission.

ROTC	86.2	2.1	11.7
NR/J	60.3	16.4	23.3
NR/NJ	61.9	19.0	19.0

18. A small number of reporters should be allowed to accompany the military to report what happens.

	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
ROTC	61.7%	5.3%	33.0%
NR/J	72.6	12.3	15.1
NR/NJ	61.9	15.9	22.2

19. If the press is not permitted to accompany the military, military officials would report news about the invasion truthfully and accurately.

ROTC	71.3	5.3	23.4
NR/J	46.6	6.8	46.6
NR/NJ	47.6	7.9	44.4

20. If reporters accompany the military, they should not be briefed on the situation, for security reasons, until the invasion has begun.

ROTC	85.1	2.1	12.8
NR/J	63.0	16.4	20.5
NR/NJ	69.8	15.9	14.3

21. If reporters accompanying the military are briefed several hours before the invasion, they should be sequestered to ensure no reporter leaks the story.

ROTC	95.7	2.1	2.1
NR/J	79.5	11.0	9.6
NR/NJ	87.3	6.3	6.3

22. If a reporter privy to the invasion feels strongly that the military action is unwarranted or morally wrong, he should have the right to inform the U.S. public about the invasion before it is launched.

ROTC	8.5	6.4	85.1
NR/J	21.9	19.2	58.9
NR/NJ	11.1	14.3	74.6

PART II: The invasion has been launched and a group of reporters has accompanied U.S. troops. Unexpectedly, two neighboring nations have sent highly trained forces to help fight the Americans in Diego. No one can predict just how long the fighting will last.

23. Military officials should censor all news to ensure no breach of security occurs.

ROTC	64.9	12.8	22.3
NR/J	38.4	13.7	47.9
NR/NJ	41.3	22.2	36.5

	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
24. The American public should be informed about U.S. casualties and battle defeats.			
ROTC	83.0%	3.2%	13.8%
NR/J	90.4	5.5	4.1
NR/NJ	93.7	1.6	4.8
25. Stories concerning the general state of morale among U.S. soldiers should not be published.			
ROTC	34.0	20.2	45.7
NR/J	12.3	13.7	74.0
NR/NJ	20.6	15.9	63.5
26. The public should be informed of the strengths and weaknesses of American military units on the battlefield.			
ROTC	30.9	11.7	57.4
NR/J	61.1	19.2	19.2
NR/NJ	47.6	11.1	41.3
27. Stories about civilian casualties should not be published.			
ROTC	23.4	14.9	61.7
NR/J	9.6	11.0	79.5
NR/NJ	7.9	14.3	77.8
28. Stories containing information about the location and identification of U.S. military units should not be published.			
ROTC	93.6	2.1	4.3
NR/J	72.6	12.3	15.1
NR/NJ	90.5	1.6	7.9
29. The press should be allowed to criticize military leaders.			
ROTC	57.4	4.3	38.3
NR/J	64.4	11.0	24.7
NR/NJ	69.8	6.3	23.8
30. If the senior military commander asks a reporter to help deceive the enemy by publishing a news story containing false information, the reporter should do so.			
ROTC	63.8	17.0	19.1
NR/J	21.9	30.1	47.9
NR/NJ	54.0	17.5	28.6

APPENDIX F
SURVEY GROUP RATINGS OF MILITARY AND PRESS MEMBERS

RATINGS OF MILITARY MEMBERS

	<u>ROTC</u>	<u>NON-ROTC/ JOURNALISM</u>	<u>NON-ROTC/ NON-JOURNALISM</u>
Trustworthy	90.4%	67.1%	68.3%
Neutral	5.3	21.9	15.9
Untrustworthy	4.3	11.0	15.9
Strong	98.9	87.7	76.2
Neutral	1.1	11.0	19.0
Weak	--	1.4	4.8
Intelligent	89.4	78.1	61.9
Neutral	5.3	13.7	20.6
Unintelligent	5.3	8.2	17.5
Essential	98.9	91.8	84.1
Neutral	1.1	6.8	6.3
Nonessential	--	1.4	9.4
Good	91.5	64.4	69.8
Neutral	7.4	31.5	28.6
Bad	1.1	4.1	1.6
Patriotic	100.0	91.8	88.9
Neutral	--	4.1	9.5
Unpatriotic	--	4.1	1.6
Biased	61.5	72.6	74.6
Neutral	22.3	19.2	23.8
Unbiased	16.0	8.2	1.6
Courageous	93.6	82.2	77.8
Neutral	6.4	17.8	20.6
Cowardly	--	--	1.6
Responsible	95.7	74.0	69.8
Neutral	2.1	19.2	23.8
Irresponsible	2.1	6.8	6.3
Competent	92.8	69.9	68.3
Neutral	4.3	21.9	25.4
Incompetent	3.2	8.2	6.3
Compassionate	57.4	30.1	39.7
Neutral	31.9	31.5	28.6
Uncompassionate	10.6	38.4	31.7

RATINGS OF PRESS MEMBERS

	<u>ROTC</u>	<u>NON-ROTC/ JOURNALISM</u>	<u>NON-ROTC/ NON-JOURNALISM</u>
Trustworthy	46.8%	75.3%	42.9%
Neutral	12.8	11.0	20.6
Untrustworthy	40.4	13.7	36.5
Strong	48.9	65.8	50.8
Neutral	34.0	28.8	30.2
Weak	17.0	5.5	19.0
Intelligent	88.3	97.3	85.7
Neutral	5.3	2.7	6.3
Unintelligent	6.4	--	7.9
Essential	84.0	94.5	85.7
Neutral	7.4	4.1	9.5
Nonessential	8.5	1.4	4.8
Good	59.6	64.4	46.0
Neutral	26.6	34.2	39.7
Bad	13.8	1.4	14.3
Patriotic	42.6	43.8	38.1
Neutral	29.8	43.8	31.7
Unpatriotic	27.7	12.3	30.2
Biased	76.6	54.8	73.0
Neutral	12.8	24.7	14.3
Unbiased	10.6	20.5	12.7
Courageous	56.4	65.8	54.0
Neutral	25.5	26.0	33.3
Cowardly	18.1	8.2	12.7
Responsible	45.7	76.7	42.9
Neutral	14.9	9.6	30.2
Irresponsible	39.4	13.7	27.0
Competent	68.1	79.5	63.5
Neutral	14.9	13.7	20.6
Incompetent	17.0	6.8	15.9
Compassionate	40.4	53.4	39.7
Neutral	18.1	21.9	23.8
Uncompassionate	41.5	24.7	36.5

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